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POWERS OF THE FRENCH PRESIDENT.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

THE representative system of government is the invention of the Teutonic nations, and England only among those nations has been able to perpetuate it from the barbarian epoch to the present time. In that way she has become "the mother of parliaments," the teacher of the science of representative government to all the world. Every representative assembly now existing in the old world or the new is a mere reproduction of the English parliamentary idea modified and adapted to the special circumstances of the country in which it has been reproduced. All such reproductions may be divided into two classes: first, those in which the executive power is republican; second, those in which the executive power is monarchical.

The English colonies in America were the first to reproduce the parliamentary system of the mother country in the assemblies of their several provincial states, which sprang up, not as the result of conscious imitation, but as the predestined product of a natural process of reproduction. Rejecting nobility and kingship as unsuited to their condition, these states simply continued the English two-chamber system, with such modifications as were necessary to adapt it to a republican form of government,

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in which the chief magistracy was elective and not hereditary. The highest development of that idea was reached in the making of the present constitution of the United States, by which an elective President with a fixed term of four years was clothed, as nearly as possible, with the constitutional powers at that moment exercised by the King of England. It is all important to remember, in view of what will be said hereafter, that the makers of the American Constitution "had before them not a generalized English king nor an abstract constitutional monarch; it was no anticipation of Queen Victoria, but George III. himself, whom they took for their model." This fact is important, because the constitutional powers and status of George III. were utterly different from those of Queen Victoria, for the reason that at the time of the making of the American Constitution the modern English cabinet, which now exercises the royal functions, did not exist, or, if it did exist, "it was so unmature that its true nature had not been perceived." Taking as their model an English king, who both reigned and governed, the American framers constructed the presidential office upon that basis; and that creation, which has been in successful operation for more than a century, has been copied by all the Spanish-American republics from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan. The experiment of a republican president, modelled after the English sovereign of to-day, whose constitutional functions are exercised by a cabinet council, whose existence may end at any moment at the bidding of a popular assembly, has never been tried in the new world. In France only has that novel experiment been made, and after an experience of a quarter of a century she is now in a position to estimate its practical value.

The English parliamentary system was never accepted by any of the continental nations until after it had been popularized by its American experience, and commended to Europe, largely upon that basis, by that school of French thinkers, who at the end of the last century began to advocate its adoption. According to Guizot's famous canon this great idea had to pass through France before it received general acceptance. Thus it was that within less than a century representative assemblies after the English model have been set up in France, in Spain and Portugal, in Holland and Belgium, in Germany, Italy and Austria—in all the European nations, in fact, except Russia and Turkey. The great

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feature which distinguishes all of these European reproductions is embodied in the fact that along with the English bicameral system has been accepted the English idea of ministerial responsibility in the form in which it exists at the present day. Amongst the European nations who have thus attempted a conscious reproduction of the English polity, France alone is republican; but when that has been said, the fact remains that her present constitution is the closest approach ever made to the English original. So far as central political organization is concerned, the existing constitution of France was made strictly after the British model. As in the English system, the supreme powers are vested in two chambers, which have the right to change the constitution without limit when acting jointly as a national assembly. There is no tribunal like the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the validity of national laws; the only body competent to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation is the Legislature itself. In constructing the executive power the makers of the present French constitution took as their model the English sovereignty as it existed in 1875, just as the makers of the American constitution took as their model the same sovereignty as it existed in 1787. The divergence in the result thus attained in the construction of these two greatest republican executives is as wide as the difference which divides the two originals from each other. After a century of experience the executive power in the United States stands out as the most successful part, perhaps, of the whole federal system. It has been a firm, stable, and moderating influence in the midst of purely democratic institutions with which it has perfectly harmonized. After a quarter of a century of experience, the executive power as now constituted in France stands out as the one great failure in a constitution which has otherwise been France's most permanent and successful republican experiment. It may be truly said that the old kings of France reigned and governed; that a constitutional monarch now reigns in England, but does not govern; that the President of the United States governs, but does not reign; while the President of the French Republic neither reigns nor governs. In that way France has been deprived of stable and continuous executive leadership at a critical period in her history. The President from the very constitution of his office cannot supply it; and experience has demonstrated that ministries

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appointed by him under the existing system cannot supply it.

That charge is capable of mathematical demonstration. Not long ago the *Figaro* made a statement of all the ministries that have existed in France since February, 1871, and of their relative duration. From that it appears that within that time there have been thirty-four (to which three more must now be added), with an average life of scarcely eight months; and, including those persons who have gone out of office when partial changes were made, that during the same period there have been more than 200 different ministers in office. President MacMahon governed with eight cabinets, Grévy with twelve, Carnot with ten, and certainly no improvement has taken place under the two presidents who have succeeded since that time. The French presidency, which is a solecism in the history of republican institutions, may therefore be said to have broken down under the test of actual experience for the reason that it has failed to attain even approximately the results produced by the English original after which it was modelled. A simple comparison of the actual workings of the two systems during substantially the same period of time will put that statement beyond question. During the last twenty-eight years, there have been in England but nine ministries, as follows: Dec. 9, 1868, Gladstone; Feb. 21, 1874, Beaconsfield; April 28, 1880, Gladstone; June 24, 1885, Salisbury; Feb. 6, 1886, Gladstone; Aug. 3, 1886, Salisbury; Aug. 18, 1892, Gladstone; March 3, 1894, Rosebery; July 2, 1895, Salisbury. It thus appears that there have been but nine English ministries within a period of twenty-eight years with an average life of more than three years against at least thirty-seven French ministries within twenty-five years with an average life of scarcely eight months. And worst of all, this utterly inefficient executive system which is now depriving France of the benefits of a coherent and continuous policy manifests a tendency to become still more unstable every day. The natural result of the uncertainty and unrest arising out of this unfortunate condition of things is a continual cry for constitutional revision which must inevitably take place in the near future. The mighty problem which France must solve when that revision is made is this: Shall the present constitution be weakened by changes which will only intensify the present instability of the executive

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power; or shall it be perfected and strengthened by a reconstruction of the executive upon a basis supported by all modern republican experience.

French republicans have every reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of their present constitution considered as a whole when the immense difficulties attending its construction have been justly estimated. The growth of monarchy in France gradually crushed the life out of all the older forms of popular government, both central and local, which had sprung from the institutions of earlier times. By the sixteenth century in France, as in the rest of continental Europe, every effort made to establish representative government had come to an end. Then it was that the free constitutions of Castile and Aragon were overthrown by Charles V. and Philip II.; then it was that the States-General of France met for the last time (1614) prior to their final meeting upon the eve of the French Revolution. The statesmen of the Revolution thus removed by nearly two centuries from actual experience of representative government, and misled by the impracticable theories of Rousseau and Sieyès, undertook for the first time in the world's history the impossible task of constructing *a priori* constitutions founded on speculative assumptions unsupported by historical precedents. The utter and hopeless failure of all such experiments served a good purpose, however, in convincing Europe in general and France in particular that viable constitutions cannot be made in that way. Under the influence of that conviction a reaction set in about 1814 and 1815, which has gradually impelled Europe to re-establish representative government upon the basis of the English system embodied in an historical constitution which has been gradually developed through a long period of stormy experience. Upon that sure and conservative basis French statesmen constructed in 1875 the present constitution, which went into effect in the following year.

That work of adaptation was in some respects far more delicate and difficult than that undertaken by the framers of the American constitution in 1787, for three reasons: first, because there was no community of race; second, because there was no community of law as a basis of individual right; third, because France did not possess a system of naturally organized self-governing communities as a congenial basis upon which to erect the central parlia-

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mentary system. What the French Revolution did not destroy was the system of centralized administration which the monarchy had developed; the legislators of the Revolution attempted to do no more than reorganize and simplify that system. The Constituent Assembly simply gave order and symmetry to local administration, when in December, 1789, it carved out of the old provinces of France the eighty-six existing departments now divided into arrondissements, each arrondissement being subdivided into cantons, and each canton into communes. Upon that artificial and bureaucratic substructure, with no historical connection with the traditions of the older freedom, have been superimposed the several systems of popular government that have followed each other in France since the great upheaval which substituted the absolute sovereignty of the people for the indefensible sovereignty of the King. And yet the chief difficulty in the practical operation of the existing system has not arisen, as might have been expected, out of a lack of cohesion between the parliament at Paris and the local communities from which its life is drawn. The one great difficulty disclosed by experience has arisen out of the impossible attempt to put a republican president into the shoes of a modern constitutional monarch whose functions are exercised by a ministry which in France is the servant of two popular assemblies. In making that dangerous experiment the French statesmen of 1875 marred their work by departing from the firm basis of historical experience into the unknown realm of abstract speculation, and what inevitably happens in all such cases has taken place. Nobody had ever attempted such a thing before, and no one has been bold enough to attempt such a thing since.

A careful student of the English constitution who clearly comprehends the subtilty of that part of its mysterious organization which regulates the relations of the crown with the chambers, and the chambers wth each other, through a set of unrecorded conventions, can understand in a moment why that part of its intricate machinery cannot be adapted to a republic with a written and dogmatic fundamental law. In the first place the fiction is that the English sovereign really governs as of old; the fact is that she does not govern at all. The fiction is that the two chambers are co-ordinate and co-equal; the fact is that the real sovereignty resides in the

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House of Commons. In the French, as in all other republican constitutions, the two chambers are really co-ordinate and co-equal, and therefore capable of conflict, and that of itself is sufficient to derange the entire mechanism as demonstrated by a very recent experience fresh in the minds of everybody. To that difficulty must also be added the fact that a republican president taken from the ranks of the people cannot be clothed with the mysterious awe and dignity with which time alone can robe a king. But no matter what the reasons may be, the fact remains that this subtile monarchical organism has never been successfully grafted upon a republican system, nd the fate of the attempt in France conclusively proves, certainly so far as she is concerned, that the undertaking is impracticable. To her it has given an executive power so unstable and precarious that any policy, internal or external, that may be inaugurated is broken up on an average every eight months, and the evil is increasing every day. The genius of no statesman can overcome difficulties inherent in a fatally defective system, and since the inauguration of the present regime nearly all of France's great political chiefs have been discredited generally without any fault of their own. If the evil is continued without remedy the inevitable result will be to discredit the republican plan as a whole, and its enemies will cry out that it is incapable of leading France safely along the difficult and dangerous path which she must certainly tread for a long time to come.

But the fact that the present constitution has proved defective in a vital part is no cause whatever for discouragement, certainly not in view of its great success as a whole. The English and American rule has ever been to test constitutions by time and experience, and then, holding on to what has proved successful, to substitute for the part that has failed some new measure suggested by the failure itself. What France has ascertained from experience is that her executive power, as now constituted upon *a priori* principles, unsupported by any historical precedent, has proved in practice far too unstable to satisfy the end for which it was constituted. It has failed to produce even approximately the good results which flow from a similar expedient, as now employed in England's monarchical system. The remedy is at once plain and unspeculative. Not long ago France, ever generous to and appreciative of the United States, sent her

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as a gift a great work of art in which the republic beyond the sea is made to personify upon her own shores "Liberty enlightening the world." The best return that America can make to France for her splendid gift is her experience of a hundred years with the Presidential office, which has been the most successful part, perhaps, of her present constitution. All that the French Republic now requires is such a firm, stable, and continuous policy as the reproduction of the American presidency would surely impart. During its long and and prosperous history its capabilities have been fully tested in the crucibles of peace and war, and it has been copied into every important republican constitution with the exception of that of France alone. Upon the present French system it could easily be engrafted without any change whatever in the machinery by which French presidents are now chosen—by the joint ballot of the chambers—machinery which has stood the test of experience.

The great end to be attained is the substitution of an executive thus chosen for a four-years' term with a permanent ministry after the American model, for an executive with a seven-years' term with an ever-changing ministry after the English model. Why should it be difficult for France to accept a system which has always been sufficiently democratic for the United States when its adoption will surely bring to her the stable executive power so necessary for her welfare? Such a change could not fail to have a happy effect upon her internal development, disturbed as it now is by her ever-changing ministries. But the greatest advantage would result from the certain improvement in her foreign policy now so lacking in continuity. No one can look upon the vast and splendid armaments by which the Republic has surrounded itself and be unmindful of the fact that her supreme thought is preparedness for war. No part of that wise system of preparation is more important than that which embraces the making of alliances, and alliances can only be made firm and enduring by a strong and stable executive. All who are well informed as to international politics perfectly understand the interest and anxiety with which France's great ally now looks to the effects upon her foreign policy of the existing system. And then, last and most of all, when the trying moment comes for which all this preparation has been made, what can France expect from an institution which labors with difficulty even in the calm

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waters of peace and prosperity. Nothing is to be more appre hended than the probability that when the crisis comes France will prove to be weakest where she should be strongest. In the adoption of the American presidency she would be safe in the possession of an executive power which under the severest trials has proven itself to be equal to the storm and stress of war, both foreign and domestic.

The gravest objection that will be made in France to a reproduction of the American presidential system will be based, no doubt, upon the idea that under that system the executive power is too far removed from the chambers and too little subject to their domination and control. Such an objection will, however, lose very much of its force when the fact is remembered that under the system of committee organization as it exists in the French chambers, the chambers themselves have long ago assumed control of the supreme political question involved in the subject of national finance. While other committees simply consider and report upon ministerial measures, the Budget Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, composed of thirty-three members, and the Finance Committee of the Senate, composed of eighteen members, by revising and transforming ministerial proposals, really shape the financial policy of France to a greater extent than like committees now control the finances of the government at Washington. By simply continuing such control the French Chambers could still overshadow the executive in the one vital particular in which they naturally desire to be supreme. With the same end in view, it would, no doubt, be well to continue that provision of the present constitution which, while denying to the French President the right to veto legislation, puts it in his power to demand of the Houses the reconsideration of any measure which in his judgment has been unwisely enacted. It would not be necessary to change the constitution of the Council of Ministers considered as an administrative body, appointed by the President, and as such subject to his direction and control. It would only be necessary to abolish that aspect of the Council in which its members appear as the political body known as the Cabinet, and as such responsible to the Chambers not by virtue of any positive law, but by virtue of an unrecorded understanding, as in England. The Council of Ministers as an administrative body is recognized by

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law ; the Cabinet, a political body composed of the same persons, is not. By simply shortening the term of the President with the understanding that he should no longer be controlled by the Chambers through the Council of Ministers acting in their political capacity as a Cabinet, the end in view could be attained by simply changing one positive law. In order to preserve the close inter-communication now existing between the executive and the Chambers—a particular in which the American constitution is deficient—that provision could be advantageously continued, which now permits the French Ministers, whether members of the Houses or not, to attend their sessions and to take a privileged part in the debates. In that way could also be continued the right of interpellation in that narrower form which permits any member of either house, after due notice, to require of any Minister to answer as to any affair of state as to which an answer can be given without detriment to the public interest. Of course with the extinction of the Cabinet as a political body directly responsible to the Chambers, would end that broader method of interpellation now employed to challenge its policy upon such serious questions as are expected to end in a vote of confidence or want of confidence. The day upon which republican France is delivered from that kind of agitating procedure will be the most fortunate in her history. And here let the fact be emphasized that it is not a necessary condition of parliamentary government that Ministers who carry on the work of administration should be subject to dismissal at any moment by one or both Chambers. While the power of a representative Chamber to dismiss ministers at will may be tolerable or even desirable in a country like monarchical England, where it is exercised on an average not oftener than once in three years, it is certainly intolerable in republican France, where it is exercised on an average every eight months. When the time for revision comes, those who wish to discredit and destroy the Republic will strive to abolish the Senate and thus render the executive power still more unstable by making it the servant of a single popular assembly, while those who wish to give it a new lease of life will unite in reconstructing the executive power upon the model so successfully employed by the United States for more than a century.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

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THE NEW EPOCH AND THE CURRENCY.

BY GEORGE S. MORISON, A. M., PAST PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CIVIL ENGINEERS.

NOT every one realizes how different are the conditions in which we live from those under which the Republic was born. The difference in the conditions is largely due to the work of the engineer during the century which is now drawing to a close. Perhaps an engineer can explain their meaning in a way which may help to dispel some of the clouds in which the horizon is now enveloped.

A little more than a century ago an event occurred which marked the beginning of a change in the world's history exceeding anything which had preceded it; up to that time, however great the intellectual, artistic, or military achievements which man had accomplished, his capacity had always been limited to his own strength and that of the animals he could control. The change came when he learned to *manufacture power*. It is to this capacity that all the great advances of the nineteenth century must be ascribed; I use the words advisedly. Creation, whether of substance or force, is not given to man; manufacture is not creation, but to change inert matter from one form to another in such a way as to generate power is to manufacture power, and this we can do.

The manufacture of power means practically unlimited power; whatever the measure of a single tool, that tool can be used to make a greater one. We are no longer limited by animal units, by locations of water-powers, nor by the force of wind and tide; power can be had where it is needed and when it is needed. The power generated in a modern steamship in a single voyage across the Atlantic is more than enough to raise from the Nile and set in place every stone of the great Egyptian pyramid.

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The manufacture of power has barely begun. The steam engine is almost the sole representative; the great advances in electricity have been in conveying power already manufactured, though transmutation and conveyance of power are closely allied to its manufacture. New forms of manufactured power may come at any time, but the great change came with the capacity to manufacture power at all; the method is a secondary thing. The manufacture of power has made the physical development of the nineteenth century exceed that of the whole previous life of the world. When future generations record the history of our times they may select the date when man began to manufacture power as the division between the ancient and the modern, between the ages of ignorance and of intelligence, between the early barbarous periods and the new civilization which has not yet received a name.

Hitherto different races have existed simultaneously in every period of development, but the new epoch must from its very nature become universal. The manufacture of power has given the means of traversing the entire globe with a speed which brings all races together. It will gradually substitute the natural boundaries of convenient government for accidental tribal divisions. It will finally make the human race a single whole working for ends which we cannot yet foresee.

It is easy to understand that, when the manufacture of power is fully developed, all physical work may be dependent on inanimate force. It is easy to see that this means the concentration of enormous masses of power where power never could be had before; that it means the subdivision of power into units of minuteness hard to conceive; that it means the unravelling of mysteries which have never been solved; that it means the construction of works of a magnitude before which the greatest monuments of antiquity become insignificant. The fighting ship of to-day is a floating machine shop, though its crew of mechanics are confined as completely as the chained rowers of a Roman galley. The battles of the future will not be fought by men or by horses; the camels of the desert will never again confront the elephants of the jungle; fortifications will be factories filled with power. It is easy to recognize that the discoveries already made may be slight in comparison with those which are to come. All this is a matter of physical possibility; it is interesting to speculate

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upon it; it is foolish to prophesy about it; the changes already made are enough to consider now; these changes and their effects are before us to-day.

First, then, the manufacture of power has entirely changed all methods of communication; the railroad has replaced the stage coach; the steamship has supplanted the graceful sailing vessel, and the telegraph has supplemented the laggardly mail; all this has been the work of the engineer.

In the early part of the century, to travel at the rate of 100 miles a day was so difficult a thing that few people were willing to undertake it; now 800 miles can be accomplished with little fatigue in 24 hours and even this speed has been materially exceeded. The first President of the Republic spent weeks going from his home in Virginia to take the oath of office in New York; to-day there is no part of our country, except Alaska, from which a citizen cannot reach the national capital in less than six days. If we consider simply the time taken to travel personally, neglecting the other methods of communications, in which much greater speed has been attained, every part of the country has now become nearer the most distant section than Boston was to Richmond one hundred years ago; this is what the railroad has done.

Only sixty years ago the entire business on the ocean was done by sailing vessels; they had improved in size, speed, and model since Columbus crossed in his caravels, but the only power to propel them was still the uncertain action of the wind. A good eastward voyage across the Atlantic consumed twenty days, while the return voyage usually took at least twice that time. This was the quickest method of commnnication between America and all the rest of the world; it was only under very exceptional conditions that any one could leave an American port and reach some of the nearer ports in Europe and return in as short a time as two months, and this was true not only of men and women, but of mails and every kind of communication. To-day it is possible to cross the Atlantic and return in less than two weeks; the usual time occupied by passenger steamers in a round voyage, including the time which they wait in port on both sides the Atlantic, and including voyages to as distant ports as Bremen and Hamburg, is now four weeks, while the steamers of one of the leading steamship lines are making a round voyage every three weeks. The entire circuit of the globe

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can be accomplished in less time than was commonly necessary for a hurried trip to a near European port and return in the early years of the century.

The mails follow the same course as passengers; they are taken on the fastest ships and the fastest railroad trains, but they have the advantage that they are transferred from train to train and from train to ship at the quickest speed, and are free from the delays of inspection and sometimes of quarantine which annoy passengers. The cost of sending a letter to the most distant part of the globe is only one-fifth as much as the cost of sending it from one State to another in the early days of the Republic.

Great as these changes are, from a business point of view the effect of the telegraph is still greater; it has been able to annihilate time in communication between different towns, states and countries; there is no important business centre in any part of the globe to which a message cannot be sent and a reply received within 24 hours, the delays generally being due not to the time occupied in transmission or delivery, but to the fact that the rotation of the earth and the different times of light and darkness make the business day in our continent simultaneous with the silent dark hours of sleep in populous Asia.

The result of this quick communication has been an absolute change in all methods of doing business. Formerly each community was a unit by itself; it handled its own business; its people seldom went outside of its own limit, and such luxuries as were obtained from a distance were brought at long intervals either by their owners or by people specially charged with handling them. The food, dress, and all the habits of each community were dependent on its immediate surroundings. If the soil and climate were adapted to wheat, the white bread of the present day was a common food, but in other regions where corn and rye grew better, wheat bread was seldom seen. Homespun garments were the usual wear; the luxuries of imported fruits were unknown. The merchant in a seaport sent his ship to sea in charge of a supercargo whom he recognized as a capable business man, loaded with a cargo which that officer was to sell, and with the proceeds of which he was to make purchases for the return voyage. The chances were that from the time the ship left till it returned nothing would be heard of it. The capital

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invested in the cargo was absolutely locked up, and the merchant knew little or nothing of the success of his venture until the ship, returning from a voyage of perhaps a year, was sighted off the harbor ; it was in those days that people talked of what they would do when their ship came in. To-day any such voyage is absolutely impossible. A commerce, of a tonnage before which that of the old supercargo days becomes insignificant, is done by regular lines of steamers sailing to almost every part of the world on regular schedules, from which they seldom vary more than one or two days, and whose arrival at every port is known at every other port at which they touch, within 24 hours of the time they reach there. The sailing fleet of to-day no longer goes out with ventures under the charge of supercargoes, but the ship takes a load of goods for which freight is paid, and which is consigned to some merchant in the port to which it sails, where the ship again loads for another port ; the captain sails the ship, which is simply a means of transportation ; the business is handled by merchants in the several ports, and every one of these merchants has the means of knowing what goods are in demand, and what prices they will bring in every other port in the world. Commercially the whole earth has already become a single unit, in every part of which business can be directed from every other part.

This is what the manufacture of power has accomplished by its improvement in methods of transportation and communication alone. No nation can live by itself; it is a part of the whole commercial world; it can be politically independent of other countries, but it cannot be independent of the general laws which govern trade and commerce. Even if it desired to do so, it would not be allowed to keep clear of the developments of the nineteenth century. The very system of commercial credits which played so important a part in all international commerce thirty years ago is now passing away; regular steamship lines and telegraph cables have changed the practice; the commercial standing of every firm can be known everywhere and the aid of the few great houses is no longer needed; a course which would impair the standing of any important business house in an inland American city may be felt in Eastern Asia.

The manufacture of power has effected at least an equal change in all varieties of manufactures. Homespun garments

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have disappeared, complicated machinery directed by few hands produces nearly every manufactured product which is essential to man. The spinning wheels, which were a necessary part of our great grandmothers' households, are now kept only as curiosities in bric-a-brac decorations, while the housewife who could weave even her own supply of linen would be very hard to find.

It is not necessary to go into the details of this change; the result has been accomplished by substituting for the muscle of arm and leg, the power which the steam engine or the turbine wheel provides, power which is fed on coal at five cents a bushel instead of power fed on wheat at eighty cents, or which is furnished free in the slopes of rivers.

This is not merely the case with cloths and fabrics; it is true of every kind of manufacture and every kind of work; power has so reduced the price of all the little articles which enter into our daily life that no one can afford to make them himself. In the older parts of the country there are old barns the frames of which were so made that the boards could be fastened in without nails; when they were built the price of nails was more than ten times what it is now, while the value of a workman's time was only about one-third its present value.

The development of iron manufacture shows what has been done. Only twenty years ago nothing typified the strain of human labor more than the row of furnaces in which the puddlers, by muscular effort and in glaring heat, slowly drew together the particles of soft metal into the spongy puddle-ball from which wrought iron was forged and rolled. To-day the Bessemer converter and the open-hearth furnace have spoken the doom of wrought iron, which is disappearing before the less costly steel; and there is nothing more striking about a great steel-plant than the absence of men; ingots, blooms, billets, and finished product seem to make themselves, while the few men who stand around appear to police the machinery rather than to labor.

It was common in country districts in the early part of the century to find families who bought almost nothing; their food was all raised on their farms, while the clothing and all the household linen was of wool or flax raised at home, spun and woven by the mothers and daughters of the family. To-day it is still possible to find places were people live well and where all the food is raised at home, but in the whole United States it is doubtful

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whether 100 families can be found who do not buy their clothing and nearly all their household goods.

The results may be very briefly stated; cheap manufactured power does the work, a few intelligent hands direct the machinery and a day's labor expended in other ways will buy ten times as much cloth or any other manufactured articles as the good hands of our capable grandparents could make in a day.

Perhaps the manufacture of power has had less influence in agriculture than in anything else, but even here the effect has been enormous. In the first place it has filled the world with a great variety of agricultural machinery, which has reduced the labors of the farmer to a small fraction of what they formerly were, till the same man can accomplish with these tools four or five times as much as he could do without them. But there is another remarkable change; the crops of every part of the world have become available for the rest of the world; a failure of crops in one country is known immediately 10,000 miles away; a surfeit of crops in one country is known with equal promptness; prices are regulated not by immediate home demand, but by the supplies and demands of the world modified by cost of transportation and a few other complications which are well understood by dealers everwhere. The farmer of the present day feels all this; he has ceased to be able to live from his farm alone; to maintain his family with the luxuries and habits which people now think necessary he must draw upon all parts of the world, and it is only by selling his crops that he can pay for what he so purchases. In the older farming districts this may apply to little more than clothing and a few unnecessary luxuries, but in the newer districts it is otherwise; on the prairies west of the Missouri the farmer raises little but grain and stock; everything else, even the fuel to keep him warm in winter blizzards, must be bought.

The general effects already accomplished by the manufacture of power may be briefly stated. Every part of the civilized world now draws its supplies from every other part of the world; even the savage or barbarous regions, which get nothing from outside their own country, are forced to render their contributions to civilized lands. Prices are fixed by the whole world, not by any one community, the cost of transportation and tariff charges being simply additions to the cost of the article some-

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where else. Furthermore, every civilized family must buy a large portion of what it consumes, and practically all but farmers must buy everything they consume. If the price of wheat rises in Liverpool it rises on every farm in the United States; if a great surplus is produced in India or Argentina the price falls in European markets and on every farm in the United States.

It is the glory of the engineering profession that it has reduced the cost of almost every article of important use in modern life; it is the crowning merit of the nineteenth century that it has made cheap so many things which in our fathers' times were dear. The older inhabitants can remember the pinched, underfed look of a large portion of our people in the early days of the century when their wages would not provide them with either adequate food or suitable clothing; such people may still be seen, but there are few of them among the plump, well-clad people of to-day. It is a rarer thing to see children barefoot now than it was to see them with shoes fifty years ago. Let no one find fault with the lowering of prices of those articles which are necessary for the common support of all—of food, of fuel, or of ordinary clothing. It has been the business of the engineering profession to accomplish this result.

The work of the engineer has cheapened all the necessities of life; it has done so by substituting inanimate force for human muscle and strength, and it has done so by rendering the products of every part of the world available in every other. Great as this work is, it is not the whole; the change is elevating mankind and putting him in a better position than he was in before.

The substitution of inanimate power for the animal power on which our race was formerly dependent means a separation of the force which does the work from the intellect which directs it. The power which we make and use is absolutely without sense. All this must come from the human mind. The man who drives a horse has little to do; the horse finds the way and does the work, but the driver of a motor carriage has a senseless machine, and all direction must come from him. Manufactured power demands intelligence to supply the sense which the power lacks. The extreme logical development would be a condition where every kind of physical work is performed by machines, while human effort is reduced to design and care. Such a result will never be reached. So long as men have bodies, the forces placed

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in those bodies must be used, but the substitution of manufactured power for human labor is a promotion for man, whose value becomes measured by skill in directing power and not by muscular strength. A man's wages are determined, not by what he can do himself, but by what he can have done. The character of his work has risen; his average pay is better.

One other thing must be observed: the gain is accruing to civilized nations. Savage and barbarous nations are made to contribute their share towards the comforts of the civilized without receiving much return. This cannot continue. Savage and barbarous people disappear before the stronger arms of the more civilized; a few people are elevated, more of them are crushed. It is a constant struggle for supremacy in which the nation which has the greatest resources, the greatest strength, and understands best how to manufacture and use power, always comes out ahead. To do this it must know what every other land is doing; it must use the tools which the engineers of every country have provided; it must avail itself of the work of all. There was a time when nations could shut themselves up within their own limits and do very well. It amounted to little more than excluding some foreign trade, which at best was small; the whole world was nearly stationary; the improvements made in foreign countries amounted to so little that the work done at home was all that was needed. Japan lived in this way for centuries with laws, practices, and currency entirely unlike anything now in the world; gold and silver were kept in circulation together at a valuation in which gold was only four times as high as silver. The manufacture of power has rendered anything like this absolutely impossible. There is no race or people so great that it could afford to shut itself out for ten years from what is going on elsewhere. To use a slang expression, *it would be left;* the simple result would be that after a decade of stagnation it would find itself remanded to a secondary position among the nations of the world and become a servant where it should have been a master.

The lessons of history must be studied as showing the mistakes of the past, not as giving precedents to be followed now. We have already entered on an entirely new epoch in civilization, the epoch created by the manufacture of power; the works and doings of the past are not those of the present. History gives us a record of what has been done, but no more. It would be as

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wise to cite the habits of savage life as the ways which civilized nations should follow, as to make the practice of the beginning of this century, before the effect of the manufacture of power had been felt, the standard of the present day.

In the race which we are now in the midst of, which the manufacture of power is opening, new influences, new appliances, new powers and new forms of education appear every day; only by constant effort, constant intercourse, continual study and vigorous achievements can any country use the talents which are now before it. The cry of "America for Americans" may be all right, but if the Americans are to make the best use of their America they must call to their aid the work which the brains of Europe, and before long those of Asia, will contribute to the general benefit of mankind.

There are other laws than those which are enacted by legislative bodies, whether those laws be expressed in constitutional enactments, in judicial decisions, or in that organic law which has come to be called constitutional. In history the laws of religion have perhaps played a greater part than the civil laws of states; many of these religious laws have been the work of designing priests or wild impostors, but the preaching of Peter the Hermit carried the young men of Europe to Syria, and the trumpet of the Prophet spread Islamism over the early home of Christianity. There are the laws of logic and mathematics, which are absolute and fixed; it is beyond any power, either human or supernatural, to set them aside. Not even the Deity can change the sum of two numbers.

The laws of trade are at least as important as legislative enactments; they involve the arguments of logic, the truths of mathematics, and a knowledge of the various natural conditions which have made the trade of the world possible. From their very nature these laws must be international, except in some country which would set itself up alone and sell its nineteenth century birthright. We get our coffee from South America; we must pay for it the same price that is paid in Europe and it must be paid in a coin which will pass current where the European coin does. We get our tea from Asia; we must get it on the same terms that European nations do. We raise a little of our sugar; the rest we must import from the West Indies and pay the same price for it that Europe would pay.

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International trade calls for international money, but there is no such thing as an international coin. A coin whose value is determined by legislative enactment loses that value as soon as it passes the national boundary. The only thing recognized in international transactions is the bullion value of the coins. You cannot take a bag of American eagles to London and have them counted out and valued by number; they are put in the scales and their value is the actual weight of gold. You cannot bring a bag of English sovereigns to New York and have them accepted in any way but by weight; each is equivalent to so much gold bullion, nothing more. The same may be said of silver in international transactions; the trade of Asia is conducted in silver, but this silver is handled at its bullion value, not as coins. The Chinese merchant keeps his account in taels. There is no such coin as a tael; it is only a weight of silver. To discharge an obligation he weighs out enough silver, perhaps Mexican dollars, to make the necessary number of taels, and chops up the last dollar to get the exact weight. As soon as any kind of currency leaves the protection of the laws that made it, it loses all value excepting its bullion worth; this is an inherent value which nothing can take from it. Prices may vary, but an ounce of gold is always 480 grains. Any value beyond this is a value made by a local government dependent on local conditions, subject to repeal or change by the law of the land; it is a fiat element and no more. There is no such thing as an international legal tender; it is an impossibility. If all the nations of the world were to unite in making one, it would only be good so long as no treaty obligation was violated.

We were first introduced to legal tenders in the dark days of the war, when the government needed money to sustain its very existence and issued notes which were promises to pay, making them legal tenders in private transactions. Outside of the country they never had a value exceeding the foreign estimate of the promise to pay; even California, a loyal state of the Union, refused to accept them and insisted on recognizing no other money than gold. The present silver dollar owes its present value entirely to the fact that it is exchangeable for gold.

Gresham's law is perfectly simple. With a currency consisting partially of gold and partially of silver, neither exchangeable for the other except at the pleasure of the government which

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coins them, but both legal tenders within the United States, we should have two classes of money, both of which could be used in domestic transactions, and only one of which could be used in international transactions. The one which could be used for the two purposes would be more valuable than the one that could be used for one; it would be taken for international transactions and would go abroad; bankers and merchants would buy and keep it for this purpose. The other one, equally legal for domestic transactions, would be the only domestic currency left. No one would take the more valuable money to pay bills for which the other money was equally good. The result would be what it has always been before: the world would value our cheaper legal tender at its bullion value and nothing more; the other money would have its bullion value in the world at large, and the premium which it commanded at home would be measured by the differences in the two bullion values. When the international money had been absorbed, nothing would be left but the domestic silver. One would be abroad, the other at home; one would be used in foreign transactions, the other in domestic; no law of this country could control both; their relations must be determined solely by the bullion values of the two metals, as they would exist on their merits alone.

Trade would, of course, continue to go on, but compared with other nations on the basis of a depreciated currency. The only way in which depreciation could be prevented would be by closing all communications with foreign nations; by giving up our coffee, our tea, with all other necessaries and luxuries which we can only get from abroad; by stopping our communications with other countries; and in these days, when an old Asiatic power, which for centuries shut itself aloof from the world, is trying to become one of the foremost modern nations, we should voluntarily take the isolated position from which our own navy forced Japan forty years ago. This could only be accomplished by sacrificing all that the last hundred years have given us which the engineering profession has made possible through the manufacture of power.

GEORGE S. MORISON.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND.

BY THE RIGHT HON. LADY DILKE.

THE present position of this question, in the United Kingdom, may be described as that of a deadlock, and the prospect of any change in the existing situation cannot be regarded as other than exceedingly remote.

The agitation began in 1867, when household suffrage—so called—was established here as the basis of the franchise. Exceptions were continued at that time in the case of peers—who were otherwise heard in Parliament—aliens, lunatics, idiots, minors, and women. This classification afforded food for much profane jesting at the expense of the last-named on the list and provoked indignant protest, more often than not couched in language the reverse of sober, from women of the more foolish sort. This, indeed, has been the stumbling block in the way of all those questions which may be called "women's questions." Each time that a real and serious grievance has been signalled to public attention, its consideration on its merits has been disturbed and often prevented by the outburst of absurd pretensions which it has, unfortunately, called forth. The more fluent are generally the more foolish, and, whenever sex disqualifications have to be discussed, are wont to embarrass those who value self-control, reticence, right judgment, and weighty speech. Yet I will honestly confess that there is something, to my mind, very pathetic in the wildest statements of those who have been called the "wild women." They have suddenly found a voice for wrongs which have been endured—for the most part in silence—for centuries. "No one knows," said Cardinal Manning to me one day when we were on this subject, "the depth of the sufferings of married women save the doctor and the priest." What wonder that they and their spinster sisters should raise a

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strange and conflicting clamor, uncertain as yet whether they most desire to confine men within the narrow border of their own limitations or snatch from them an equal enjoyment of unrestrained liberty.

This determination to ignore any unequal pressure of social obligations and to claim rights precisely similar to those enjoyed by men accompanied even the initial stages of the women's suffrage movement. Even those who could not believe that absolute freedom from all the disabilities of sex was the first condition of an earthly paradise imagined that even the inclusion of a limited number of women would have the effect of remedying certain women's grievances, "the right to vote" being, as I then thought and wrote, "the right without which all others were insecure." We supposed, indeed, that it would be impossible to maintain the exclusion of women if the franchise were to rest on a ratepaying qualification based in theory, if not in fact, on property, and we fondly hoped that the sense of direct responsibility might strengthen in us certain qualities in which our very utterances on the question we had at heart showed the majority of us to be grievously deficient. Yielding to none in our admiration for the courage, force, right thinking, sense of honor, and duty shown by shining examples of English women, we could not shut our eyes to the emotionalism, sentimentality, faddism, and fondness for crooked ways which are the favorite weaknesses of too many amongst our sisters.

At first the advocates of the measure met with a considerable amount of friendly interest, not untinged, perhaps, by a shade of mockery; it was not until the agitation had spread over a considerable section of society—chiefly represented by the professional classes—that opposition was developed and a certain impatience of any discussion of the subject began to show itself, which was the sure sign of gathering hostility. We were curtly told that our claims were "against nature," a male argument paralleled by the assertion "that God did not intend women to learn Greek," with which a brilliant young scholar of his college once met, in my hearing, the eager advocates of a classical education for women.

Meanwhile, a society was formed—the National Society for Women's Suffrage—which started hopefully, encouraged by the fact that the so-called household suffrage actually restored an

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analogy which for a long time had ceased to exist between local and imperial suffrage, and by the recollection that in Great Britain women had always enjoyed some forms of this local household suffrage. Early in the Parliament of 1868, under considerations of this order, the municipal franchise was bestowed on women (at the suggestion of Sir Charles Dilke), and Mr. Forster's Education Bill, which had been introduced without School Boards, was altered by the House (also on the motion of Sir Charles Dilke), so as to be administered by the ratepayers, men and women alike. The thin end of the wedge had now, it was supposed, been introduced, and the more eager partisans redoubled their energetic efforts to force on the favorable solution, which they looked upon as certain, by every means in their power.

Other and perhaps more serious grievances from which women especially suffered were taken up concurrently with the suffrage agitation. The zealous and self-sacrificing persistency of Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, steadily backed by the increasing numbers of the women suffragists, ensured, in great measure, the passing of the Married Women's Property Acts, which were finally carried through, thanks to the exertions of Mr., now Sir John, Hibbert. To the unwearying efforts of the same lady we were, also, to a large extent, indebted for the success which crowned our endeavors to amend the law in other points in which it was plainly injurious to women and children ; but our triumph in these matters, whilst, on the one hand, it inspired some of the leaders of the movement with fresh courage, caused others to reflect that it was not absolutely necessary to possess a vote in order to obtain a just consideration for our grievances. These asked themselves whether what they had regarded as the most weighty reasons for demanding a great social change had any real existence ; it seemed as if organized and reasonable appeal to public opinion might be a force sufficient to procure such ends as were to be desired, not only in the interest of the individual, the class, or the sex, but in the interest of the state.

Other considerations now arose which pointed in the same direction. It became clear that neither the ultimate resting-place, nor, if regard were had either to logic or justice, the temporary halting-place could be found in a nominal rate-paying franchise. On the principle of this nominal rate-paying franchise, great inroads have been made by the lodger franchise and

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again by the service franchise, and the parliamentary franchise had been differentiated by these from the various local franchises. The assimilation of the local and parliamentary franchises had therefore become impossible except by going considerably further in the direction of extension. This has, indeed, recently been done in the case of parish and district council elections, but not in the case either of municipal or county elections.

The parliamentary franchise now consists of freeholders—who may reside anywhere; of certain leaseholders assimilated to freeholders; of separate occupiers of houses and of parliamentary lodgers, who are required to have a separate occupation of their room. This franchise excludes, generally speaking, sons living with their fathers and mothers, and similar cases; except so far as a few, chiefly barristers and clergymen, possess the university franchise as having taken a master's degree and kept their names, by payment, on the books of their college. The service franchise does not, as is often ignorantly supposed, violate the principle of the necessity of a separate occupation by enfranchising servants living with their masters. It is limited to cases where the servants —generally caretakers or coachmen--have a virtual separate occupation. It will be seen, at once, how these franchises, although in most of them no figures of value are named, are meant to have a base of substantiality or respectability. Judge-made law, however, confirmed by an act of 1878, has admitted the poorest of the London poor as occupiers whilst many of the richest people in the country are excluded. The exclusion of these, in the name of the principle of property, whilst—under the present interpretation of Mr. Goschen's act of 1869—the poorest tenement occupiers were included, made the supposed property basis of the franchise ridiculous, and there grew up a sense that a base for the franchise wholly apart from the possession of property or "separate" dwelling-rooms would have to be discovered.

A split next took place amongst the acknowledged leaders of the movement, the able women who had founded and directed the policy of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. Careful consideration of the details of proposed schemes for the enfranchisement of widows and unmarried women fulfilling the conditions at present required of men, showed that a good many voters of the most undesirable class would be admitted whilst a great proportion of the best women in the country would be arbi-

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trarily excluded from the franchise. This limited bill would, it was felt, apparently make the basis of the franchise more logical and, if it were carried, that fact would be used for years to come as an argument against the admission of married women to the suffrage. It would only be carried—especially in the teeth of opposition certain to be offered to it in the House of Lords—through the strongest pledges being given by its promoters that they or many of its principal movers would rest content with the measure and not attempt to reopen the question. It was further argued that should the bill be carried through the House of Commons without a proviso specially excluding married women, even where the wife and not the husband was the ratepayer, it was certain that such a provision would be put in by the House of Lords, and thus would be created a new and arbitrary distinction.

A second society, bearing the name of the Franchise League, was accordingly formed, and this received the adhesion of many of the more distinguished champions of the original movement—Mrs. Jacob Bright, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy—to whose exertions in the question of the Married Women's Property bill I have already alluded—and Dr. Pankhurst, who had from the first been a capable and consistent advocate of the same practical measure. The centre of their activity is Manchester, but a great amount of work is also done in London and, personally directed by Mrs. Jacob Bright herself, is carried on by the exertions of a large staff of voluntary workers. "Often I have," she says, "as many as fifteen ladies working as unpaid clerks for weeks at my table."

A bill, supported by this society, is now brought in annually by Sir Charles Dilke and backed by Mr. John Burns, Dr. Clark and other democratic members of Parliament. It is a measure of adult suffrage, giving the parliamentary and all local franchises to all grown men and women. It also renders women eligible for all elective offices and consequently for membership of Parliament. A certain clause in this bill, which abolishes University representation, is a stumbling block to the officials of the House of Commons, as it appears, at first sight, to be an excrescence and to concern a different subject. On reflection, it will, however, be clear that the effect of a single franchise would necessarily destroy the University constituencies, and, unless their representation were abol-

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ished, leave them with the name and forms of representation and without the fact.

What would be the practical results of such a measure in these islands it is not easy to foresee, but it is interesting to note, in this connection, that Sir Charles Dilke's bill became law, last year, in the colony of South Australia, and a general election has been held under it in which, curiously enough, although almost as many women as men voted, no woman became a candidate. In New Zealand adult suffrage has been carried and an election held under it, but women are not there eligible. In both colonies it has been observed that, contrary to expectation, the effect of the admission of great numbers of women to the franchise has been to increase liberal, radical, and labor forces, and to diminish the strength of the church, chapel, and conservative forces.

It may also be noted, in contrast to these results, that not long ago a test canvass was made in a borough in the north of Scotland of all the women who would have been enfranchised by one of the more moderate measures embodied in the bills recently introduced by the Conservative Members of Parliament who now have charge of the schemes of the old National Society. These bills are usually drawn to give women, for parliamentary purposes, the franchise which some of them now enjoy in municipal and county elections. This would exclude the freeholders and other ownership voters and the lodger, and, unless a clause were put in similar to that inserted in the last Local Government act with regard to parish and district elections, would also exclude the married woman ratepayer. On this basis, the canvass in question was made by competent persons, under the strict supervision of the sitting member. It gave results which were practically the same as those which had been obtained by the men's votes cast at the polls in a recent election and showed that as far as the borough in question was concerned, no political change would ensue from the proposed limited extension of the franchise to unmarried women and widows.

On this point it may be as well here to add that this exclusion of the married woman ratepayer from the municipal franchise is but another example of judge-made law and was not intended by the House of Commons when it gave the municipal franchise to women in 1869. The exclusion is not, however, fully operative. For example, women separated from their

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husbands and keeping shops are numerous in the great towns; and the overseers put on, without inquiry, nearly all women rate-payers, leaving the political parties to object to them on the ground of marriage. Political parties often shrink from the odium of the inquiries involved, and in cities like Manchester great numbers of women, who are in fact married women, remain on the municipal register and exercise the franchise.

Here we touch on one of the chief objections maintained against proposals thus limited. Such proposals have not only failed to satisfy the more advanced group, now led by the Franchise League, but are also opposed by others, who object to them precisely on the ground that, by leaving married women unenfranchised, they leave unenfranchised those who, in all probability, are the best informed on subjects of national importance.

In 1889, attention was drawn to this point by an "Appeal against Female Suffrage," which appeared in the June number of the *Nineteenth Century* and was signed by many women of mark and distinction. They did full justice to the excellent services rendered to the State by women in various branches of domestic policy, such as fall to the lot of guardians, of members of school boards, etc., and then went on to say that "when it comes to questions of foreign or colonial policy or of grave constitutional change, then we maintain that the necessary and normal experience of women—generally speaking and in the mass—does not and never can provide them with such materials for sound judgment as are open to men." To say that what never has been never can be was, as I wrote at the time—in an article called "The Next Extension of the Franchise," which appeared in the *Universal Review*—a bold assertion even for a chorus of a hundred ladies. There was, however, no doubt that their statement, if limited to our present experience, was absolutely correct, and since, whatever may be the future organization of labor, there will probably always be some labor which suits men best, we may admit the fact that women in the mass are not likely to be in possession of experience equally valuable in the formation of a sound judgment on certain questions, where the habitual employment of men in civil and military capacities brings them, in the natural course of things, the fullest possible materials for opinion and decision. That this is so, at the present day, is proved not only by the extreme poverty of the materials

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(with rare exceptions), which we observe in the public utterances of women on subjects of this class, but by the deterioration in width of interest, if not in breadth and sanity of judgment, in the widows of men who were of great eminence and distinction. The death of the husband often reveals the source whence "materials for judgment" were drawn. Of a friend of my own, a woman of extraordinary grasp and power, the wife of one of the most distinguished men of our day, we used to say, "She is the better man of the two." But, when he was gone, we all felt, in her, a strange loss of weight and power, which she herself realized, saying to me, "It is not only the loss of my life companion; it is the loss of half my brain and the richest source of my intellectual life. I can no longer keep my place in the current of things, since I am cut off by his death from so much knowledge that could only be mine through him."

The class of facts, from which my friend found herself cut off, were exactly those which enable women to judge soundly and vote wisely on "questions of foreign or colonial policy, or of grave constitutional importance," and at present only a limited class have within their reach even vicarious knowledge. This consideration explains the widespread dissatisfaction with which many view the measures which have been pressed so persistently by the National Society on the House of Commons and the public for some time past. It is felt that they exclude exactly that class which, with rare exceptions, possesses "materials for a sound judgment" of political questions. This policy—generally defended as prudent—has undoubtedly tended to alienate many of the oldest supporters of women's suffrage and their alienation has not, as far as I can see, been compensated by any great accession of fresh strength from other quarters. The same names as have been long familiar to the observer continue to occupy the same positions of prominence both in the subscription lists of the National Society and in the reports of its public meetings. One of their chief representatives has, however, recently written in a most hopeful strain of the immediate future, basing her prognostics on the good effect produced by the tranquil exercise of the vote by women in local elections; on their increasing political activity, and, thirdly, on the encouraging example lately set by our colonies. She does not, though, take note of the fact that the colonies, having invariably rejected all limited measures, finally

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carried, in the two instances to which allusion has already been made, a bill for adult suffrage.

At home I think it must be admitted that there is no strong popular desire for a great extension of the franchise, such as might give the wider measure, approved by the Franchise League and adopted by South Australia, even a chance of serious consideration. Until such a popular wave of feeling arises in the country it seems unlikely that the question will be touched. We have to deal not only with the habitual conservatism of the English mind, but with the fact that the various opponents of the more limited measures seem strong enough at present to prevent them from becoming law, whilst the advocates of adult franchise, on the other hand, are not within measurable distance of the attainment of their aims—aims which are regarded as being at this moment outside the sphere of practical politics. I return, therefore, to the assertion with which I set out at the beginning of this article, and declare that the present situation as regards women's suffrage in Great Britain and Ireland is simply a deadlock.

We seem, indeed, to be so far from any practical solution, that it may appear foolish even to hazard a conjecture as to the future prospects of the question. There are, nevertheless, strange turns in the affairs of men, and should popular sentiment—irritated by the ludicrous anomalies of our franchise—declare itself, at some no very distant date, in favor of manhood suffrage, it may be that the partisans of women's suffrage would find themselves, in an unexpected way, the masters of the situation. Those who are, at present, divided by the details of the measure which they have at heart would coalesce in the common cause and would probably find themselves powerful enough to bar the passage of any bill in favor of manhood suffrage, except on their own terms. Those terms would be, of course, dictated by the progressive and democratic body which calls itself "The Franchise League." We might, in short, suddenly find ourselves—whether married or single—not only free to exercise the parliamentary and local franchises, but also eligible for all elective offices and consequently free from any legal bar to a seat in the House of Commons.

EMILIA F. S. DILKE.

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MEDICAL EXPERTS AND THE HOMICIDE.

BY DR. HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

UNDER existing conditions, expert testimony in criminal trials is to be regarded, according to the point of view, as a farce or a tragedy. The expert witness presents us the humiliating spectacle of the alleged scientist turned advocate, mountebank, and trickster. He appears as a professed partisan—for hire. He hides his true opinions behind equivocal or evasive answers —for a consideration. He expresses by implication views he does not really hold—that he may seem to earn his fee. In a word, he sacrifices his mistress Science at the shrine of Mammon.

At all events, he is openly accused of all of this, and much more in kind. He is railed at, scoffed at, jeered. The most charitable of popular opinions as to his character seems to be that which regards him as an unmitigated joke. And meantime he is placed in such a position that it is impossible for him to defend himself against these allegations. He may be a true scientist, learned, honest, conscientious, but under existing methods he cannot prove that he is such. The populace will judge him by his company, and, as matters stand, some portions of his company are pretty certain to be bad. Whatever his real character, the fate of poor Tray awaits him.

The spirit of the law is said to be common sense. But its letter has certainly permitted a wide departure from this alleged standard. The attempt to add to the communal weal by utilizing the knowledge of experts has culminated in something not far removed from total failure. What should be a most serious function has passed into a joke; and by common consent the joke has gone far enough. So it chances that in many different directions the entire subject of expert testimony is under discussion. The desirability of changes in existing laws bearing on

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the matter is admitted. The only question at issue concerns the nature of these changes. Such being the case, a common-sense discussion of the subject seems in order; and it is this that I mean to attempt. Viewed in its entirety (and including, so to speak, its obverse side), the subject seems to me to present three distinct questions for consideration, as follows:

I. How shall the medical expert be secured?

II. How shall his services be utilized?

III. What shall be done with the insane law-breaker?

I shall consider each of these phases in some detail. To give tangibility to my suggestions, I shall refer specifically to the laws of the State of New York. But if these suggestions really have the warrant of common sense, their applicability will not be restricted by State boundaries. The general bearings of the subject are the same everywhere, and the needs of New York are, details aside, the needs also of Maine, Iowa, or California.

I.

The famous rule for baking a fish begins by directing one to secure the fish. Our criminal laws are not so logical in the matter of expert testimony. They assume the medical expert, but they do not define him. He must, of course, be "competent," but we are given no sufficient official test of his competency. To be sure, he is put through all manner of verbal paces before the jury in the matter of alleged qualifications. He has studied in Europe under this and that eminent teacher; he has read such and such books, and doubtless written a few others himself; he is consulting physician to sundry hospitals and asylums, and so on *ad nauseam*. But while all this may be supposed to have a certain effect upon the jury, it by no means determines the actual status of the pretended expert, who may, despite all this verbiage, be commonly recognized by his professional brethren as a blatant impostor. Indeed, under existing methods it is an open secret that the alleged expert is not infrequently selected rather because of his imposing "presence" or his known capacity to keep his wits about him under the fire of cross examination, than because of his actual knowledge.

Such being the case, common sense suggests the desirability of a change in existing methods. The law should at least make the effort to discriminate between the real and the pseudo-expert.

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But how may this be done? What standard should be adopted by which to put the matter to a rational test?

Before making specific suggestions it must be recalled that experts, as usually consulted in criminal cases, are of two classes. The one class comprises chemists and pathologists, who are asked to make chemical or microscopical examination of bodies or parts of bodies of persons dying under suspicious circumstances, with a view to determine the cause of death. The other class comprises alienists, who are asked to determine a question of fact as to the mental condition of an accused person. It is clear that quite different kinds of technical knowledge are required by the members of these two classes of experts. It is equally clear that mere average medical knowledge does not supply proper qualifications for either class. A physician may have the best professional training and the highest standing in his profession, and yet be utterly incapable of making a thorough microscopical or chemical examination, or of forming a really competent judgment as to the mental condition of an obscure case of alleged insanity. Clearly, then, a man should not be permitted to qualify as an expert simply because he has good professional standing as a physician. He must have such standing, but he must also have something more.

Up to this point there is no difference of opinion among those competent to judge. But now come difficulties. Just what qualifications shall be considered sufficient, and by whom shall these be adjudged? These questions have been variously answered. It has been suggested, for example, that the various State medical societies shall select from among their members some names to be presented to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, who shall appoint experts from this list. The plan is not without its good features; yet, on the whole, it can hardly commend itself to anyone who views the field widely. Membership in these medical organizations does not in itself imply special qualifications of the kind demanded, and there is an unfortunate but quite undeniable tendency of our medical societies to fashion after political machine methods, so that it is by no means certain that selections from their midst would always be made with that freedom from prejudice which is required. Indeed, this objection may be urged against any appointive power whatever that is not placed under very circumspect restrictions.

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Fortunately, however, it is possible to suggest a far more promising method of selection—a method not open to the charge of being a crude and radical departure from precedent. The mention of a single phrase will suffice to clear the atmosphere about this question wondrously. That phrase is Civil Service Reform. Put the position of medical expert on some such basis as the medical positions in our State hospitals for the insane have been upon for some years, and a host of difficulties disappears. No one can secure a position as physician in our State hospitals who has not shown certain qualifications as to education, general and special, and moral standing in the community; and in addition passed an examination prepared especially to test his particular qualifications for the peculiar work on which he desires to enter. The system has worked admirably, removing our hospital appointments from the domain of politics, and insuring competent men for the positions, instead of the political heelers who secure these places as political spoils in some other States.

Suppose then, that in order to qualify for the position of medical expert the physician must make application to a properly organized Civil Service Board, which shall first determine his eligibility to take the examination, and subsequently test his special knowledge by actual examination. Then and not otherwise, so far as I can judge, should we be provided with a list of experts who are really possessed of qualifications such as the law contemplates.

The exact prerequisites to eligibility would, of course, be determined by the Civil Service Board, as also the exact method of examination. These need not, therefore, be dwelt on at length here. Common sense would suggest, however, that the preliminary qualifications should include (in addition to thorough special education), in the case of the chemist and pathologist, practical working experience in connection with some recognized laboratory; and in case of the alienist, actual experience as a resident physician in an asylum for the insane for a period of not less than three years. These restrictions alone would bar out from eligibility for examination even a large proportion of the pseudo-experts who have made expert testimony a jest and a reproach.

As to the civil service examination itself, the second step necessary to qualification as an expert, it should, I think, be in

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part at least verbal, enabling the examiners to judge of the judicial temperament of the applicant, as well as of his special knowledge, one of these points being quite as important as the other, but only one being brought out in a written examination. But, as I said before, these are details for the Commission to determine. The province of legislation is to establish the Civil Service Commission, and my present purpose looks to legislation only.

I am perfectly aware that these suggestions will not meet the approval of many alleged experts who have been accustomed to secure from $100 to $300 or perhaps more per day, sometimes for many days or even weeks together, for services based on fictitious pretensions, and who would at once be barred out from these opportunities by such a law. But I doubt whether any truly unprejudiced person, qualified to judge, will dispute that to put the medical expert on some such tangible basis as to qualifications as I have just proposed would be a long step in advance of present methods. Space will not permit me to defend the thesis at length; but I am convinced, after very full and extended consideration of the subject in all its phases, that common sense sanctions the plan proposed. Moreover, it is a plan clearly capable of being acted on; whereas some of the schemes proposed (including one suggested last year by a committee of a State medical society) have been declared unconstitutional, and hence are foredoomed to failure.

II.

But assuming now, for the sake of argument, that our properly qualified expert has displaced the pseudo-expert, how are we to avail ourselves of his services? Our expert is at hand; what shall we do with him? Shall we have him called to the witness stand to mystify the jury with his technical learning? have him describe in detail the technique of all the scientific manœuvres he has followed in dealing with the case? ask him to answer categorically a question an hour long which he himself has framed with such delicate shadings of tenuous meaning as to appear to say by implication what he does not wish to say clearly? and shall we then sit by and listen with delight to the sword-play of technical words between him and the opposing counsel? No, a thousand times no! If common sense is to be our arbiter, we shall do none of these things.

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And why not? Because with all due respect to existing laws, common sense does not recognize the medical expert as a witness in the ordinary sense, to be subjected to the methods which are used in dealing with the ordinary witness. The ordinary witness is a usually prejudiced observer of some matter of fact in relation to the alleged crime. The fact that he is prejudiced does not in any way bar him from appearing. He is placed before the jury to enlighten them as to the facts of his observation. He is sworn to tell the truth, but he is very generally understood to be a partisan of one side or the other, and his intention to conceal part of his knowledge, or evade telling it if he can, is perfectly understood. Hence the examination and cross-examination, the badgering and brow-beating, the quarrelling and quibbling of counsel.

But what relation has all this to the case of the medical expert? His position is essentially that of a judge or juror. He must be absolutely unprejudiced, else he is no true expert. He has presented to him for determination certain matters concerning a subject of which he has unusual knowledge. Having reached an opinion concerning them, he desires nothing but to present that opinion fully and freely and, so to speak, impersonally. In the case of the chemical expert, he may never have seen or heard the name of the alleged victim or the accused criminal, or anyone else having direct connection with the case. Often he need not even know the bearings of his facts in their relation to the criminality or otherwise of any individual. The case as he sees it is an impersonal scientific problem. Having tested this problem to the best of his ability, and recorded his results, he has no further interest in it, as an expert.

Is there any reason why this scientific expert should be asked to take the witness stand and turn the court-room into an experimental laboratory? Is there any reason why he should spend hours holding technical discussions there, in terms which the jury cannot possibly comprehend? Is it probable that anything the lawyers can say will alter his opinion as to what chemical he found or did not find in the "exhibit"? In short, will any useful purpose whatever have been subserved that could not be secured by merely presenting the result of the finding, in the form of a sworn statement, delivered to the trial judge, and by him submitted to the jury?

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What, then, would common-sense suggest as the *modus operandi* of utilizing the knowledge of the chemical or pathological expert in a specific case? The question is not difficult. From the list of qualified experts, as provided to the court by the Civil Service Board, a suitable number (perhaps three) should be selected to act as a commission, and subject the "exhibits," furnished usually by the coroner, to examination or analysis. Having reached a decision, a sworn statement is made by the commission to the proper authorities; and expert knowledge has then, as a rule, done all it can toward promoting those communal interests which in legal phraseology are spoken of as the "ends of justice."

The commission here referred to should be named by a judge, and the finding should be delivered to the judge, not directly to the district attorney.

The cases in which an expert alienist may aid the law are somewhat different in character from those just considered. Here a particular individual stands accused of a crime, and the alienist must, of course, consider the individual; but his position in this regard is not different from that of judge and jury. As before, the experts should serve in the capacity of a judicial commission, not as witnesses in the ordinary sense. Appointment should, of course, be made by the judge. The commission should be empowered to summon witnesses, using all legitimate means to get at the facts. Arrived at a decision, they should make a sworn statement to the court and be discharged. In an exceptional case, the spokesman of either commission might be called to the witness stand, to be further questioned by the court, for its own enlightenment or that of the jury; and questions submitted by the counsel might, at the judge's option, be asked by him; but in no case should any direct question from either counsel be allowed, which might seem to indicate that the commission is acting for either side, or is anything other than an absolutely impartial body, called to aid in the determination of a matter of scientific fact. That the commission is called by the State and paid by the State, no more militates against its impartiality than do the same conditions militate against the impartiality of judge and petit jury. The commission, like judge and jury, is as much for as against the accused; in short, it is altogether divorced from partisanship of any kind.

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The plan here proposed is substantially that in use in Germany. In contrast with current American methods—by which experts are put on the witness stand to play the part of Kilkenny cats—it may seem a very wide departure. Yet a very trifling alteration of the existing law would suffice to make it operative. In fact, surprising as it may seem to any one not familiar with our existing laws, it is nevertheless true that a change of no more than three words in a single section of our criminal code would accomplish all that is here suggested; a fact which goes to show that our laws sometimes have closer affinity with common sense than they are credited with having. Chapter V., Section 658, of the Code reads as follows: "When a defendant pleads insanity, as prescribed in Section 336, the court in which the indictment is pending, instead of proceeding with the trial of the indictment *may* [shall] appoint a commission of not more than three *disinterested persons* [qualified experts] to examine him, and report to the court as to his sanity at the time of commission of the crime," etc. After specifying the method of procedure for the commission, the section provides that, "If the commission find the defendant insane, the trial or judgment must be suspended until he becomes sane," etc.

Here, plainly enough, the substitution of the three words I have introduced in brackets for those I have italicised would effect all the changes suggested above as desirable in connection with the alleged insane criminal and the testimony of the alienist (the status of "qualified experts" having been previously defined). Then we should be spared the humiliating exhibitions by pseudo-experts to which we have so often been subjected, and at the same time we should escape the present absurd practice of asking the ordinary juror to determine a question of mental responsibility, which, in the nature of the case, he cannot be competent to determine wisely.

It is true that the opportunity would still be open, for the defence in a case in which the commission reported the accused sane, to introduce experts on the witness stand in contradiction of this finding.

But the jury would usually have no difficulty in deciding between the unprejudiced verdict of the one set of official experts and the biased testimony of the alleged experts who appeared as partisans under pay of the defendant.

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III.

The phrase "insanity dodge" has passed into current speech, voicing a prevalent impression, as indicating that the plea of insanity is often made as a mere subterfuge in murder cases. Doubtless this does sometimes occur, but far less frequently than is imagined. It much more often happens that an insane homicide is convicted of murder than that a sane homicide is acquitted on the ground of insanity. Dr. Henry E. Allison, Medical Superintendent of the Matteawan State Hospital (New York's official asylum for insane criminals), informs me that there are at present confined in that institution more than seventeen per cent. of all the life convicts in the State; and this takes no note of about ten per cent. more who were formerly there, but, having become harmless through dementia, have been pardoned and removed to other asylums. None of these, it will be understood, was recognized as insane until after conviction of the crime of murder, yet many of them were unquestionably insane at the time of conviction.

The actual number of these insane life convicts confined at Matteawan at present is forty-one. But in addition to these murderers, there are forty more homicides who are classed as "court cases," having been sent to the asylum without trial, under the provision of the law which I quoted in the previous section, or another provision of similar import not necessary to be specified here. All these offenders are undoubtedly insane, else they would not be retained at Matteawan. More than that, nearly all of them are chronic and incurable cases. Thus it appears—and the computation is certainly a startling one—that of the homicides confined for life in the State of New York, more than forty per cent. have been officially and correctly adjudged insane. When it is added that, in addition to all these actual homicides, there are at Matteawan sixty-seven cases charged with assault in the first degree, which is an attempted homicide (and not logically different from actual homicide, even though legally distinct) something like a correct idea may be formed of the relationship between insanity and homicide.

In the light of these statistics, the question of the disposal of the insane homicide assumes striking importance. What shall we do with him? Fortunately a clew is again furnished us here

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by the provisions of the existing Code of Criminal Procedure, Section 659 of which reads as follows: "If the commission [appointed to inquire into the mental condition of a person under indictment] find the defendant insane, the trial or judgment must be suspended, until he becomes sane; and the court, *if it deem his discharge dangerous to the public,* must order that he be, in the meantime, committed by the sheriff to *a lunatic asylum,* and that *upon his becoming sane* he be re-delivered by the superintendent of the asylum to the sheriff."

Here the italics, of course, are mine. They are introduced to indicate points concerning which modification of the law is desirable. The phrase, "if it deem his discharge dangerous to the public," should simply be omitted: the fact that the insane person is under indictment has proved that he *is* "dangerous to the public," so that point need not be further considered (for the defence of insanity will seldom be advanced unless the criminal act *de facto* is admitted). Secondly, the phrase "a lunatic asylum" is not sufficiently distinctive: officially there is no such institution as that in the State of New York to-day, the aforetime "lunatic asylums" having become officially "hospitals for the insane." But that quibble aside, there is one particular "hospital" to which the insane delinquent should be sent, and one only; that being, of course, a hospital especially provided for insane criminals, such as that at Matteawan, already referred to. Here he must remain until he "becomes sane," which means, in the case of the homicide, usually as long as he lives: for with rare exceptions the insane person who commits a homicide is the victim of chronic delusional insanity, of an incurable type.

Some provision must, however, be made for the few residual cases in which recovery may take place; and it has been suggested to me by Dr. Allison himself that the superintendent of the asylum should not be asked to take the sole responsibility of determining the condition of such cases. It is always well that responsibility of this grade should be divided, for the good of all concerned. To this end, a clause might be appended to the revised section to the effect that whenever a "court case" of the kind under discussion shall appear to the superintendent to have recovered his sanity, the court shall be notified, and shall appoint a commission, from the list of eligible experts, to confer

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with the superintendent, and examine the patient, and render to the court a final decision in the matter.

With these slight emendations, which deal with technicalities rather than with essentials, the Criminal Code would make satisfactory provision for the vast majority of insane offenders against the law. A strong feature of this plan, not hitherto referred to, is that it provides for the possible contingency of a case in which an accused person shams insanity successfully, deceiving the expert commission. In such a case the dissembler will, of course, under the law as proposed, be sent to the asylum for criminals, where his true condition is sure to be revealed presently, and as the indictment against him is still pending, he can without further ado be returned to the court, and "dealt with according to law," it being within the province of the court, if it so elect, when pronouncing sentence, to take into consideration the prisoner's conduct in shamming insanity. The case of the dissembler, therefore, presents no difficulties. A case in which the commission could not reach a unanimous agreement might be treated in the same way.

There remains to be considered, however, the highly exceptional yet possible case of the offender who has been adjudged sane and responsible by the preliminary commission of experts, yet subsequently, when brought to trial, has been acquitted by the jury on the ground of insanity. Such a condition of things would be impossible if the verdict of the commission were made final; but it is said that this would be a violation of the "constitutional rights" of the accused. If such be really the case (and here of course common sense must bow to authority), then there is no practicable way of guarding against a possible miscarriage of justice. A slight change of the present law would make it obligatory to send the person thus acquitted to the hospital for insane criminals, but if he were not really insane he could not be retained there; and as *ex hypothesi* he has already been declared sane by the expert commission (who surely are far more likely to be right than the jury) his early discharge from the asylum would in many cases follow as a matter of course.

The suggestion has, indeed, been made that under such circumstances a sentence of determinate length should be pronounced (a minimum of ten years and a maximum of twenty has been mentioned where homicide is the offence). But aside from the

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fact that such a provision must be of doubtful constitutionality, I have high authority, in addition to my own opinion, for asserting that it would be illogical and calculated rather to defeat than to promote the ends it aims at. It would be illogical, because it would ostensibly immure an innocent (*i. e.*, acquitted) person on account of his mental abnormality solely, yet would keep him confined at least ten years even were he to completely recover long before the expiration of that time. It would sometimes defeat the end it aimed at, because in some cases the jury might be right, the accused person being actually a homicidal lunatic, and remaining such at the close of the maximum period of sentence; at which time, nevertheless, it would be obligatory to release him. More than one homicide at the Matteawan Hospital has been in confinement over twenty years, yet is still a dangerous lunatic; indeed, as already stated, most insane homicides are incurable, and are likely to continue dangerous as long as they live.

All things considered, then, it seems impossible to avoid the consequences of an occasional mistaken verdict—unless, indeed, that Utopian day shall come when we are wise enough to pronounce indeterminate sentence on all violators of the law, regardless of their mental condition. But we are at least justified in hoping, I believe, that the instances would be very exceptional and rare in which, on the one hand, a commission of experts would fail to recognize actual insanity; or, on the other hand, in which a jury would be seized with an uncontrollable impulse to set its judgment against that of the commission as to this technical point. The very exceptional instances in which the latter did occur must be set down as illustrations of imperfections inherent in the jury system; they cannot properly be charged against the method of utilizing expert knowledge above proposed.

IV.

In conclusion, let me briefly recapitulate the essence of the foregoing suggestions. In attempting to determine how we shall get our medical expert, I have urged that the real expert should be sifted from the pseudo-expert by the processes of searching civil service regulations. As to the proper function of the expert, once he is secured, I have urged that he should act as an advisory commissioner or referee, not as a witness under fire before

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the jury. In the third place, I have urged that the insane delinquent should be confined in an asylum especially provided for insane criminals, for a period determinate only upon his complete restoration to mental health.

I have shown that in the State of New York a very trifling change of the existing Criminal Code (in substance, the making mandatory of provisions that now are optional) would effect these ends, and in the great majority of cases tend to promote the communal interests. The laws of most other States are not very different and could with equal ease be adapted to the proposed forms of procedure.

I have made my suggestions specific because I wish them to be entirely practical. That the plan I have outlined is not ideal I am fully aware. Had I chosen, I could easily have made it much more nearly so, in a single sentence, by saying: Let every violator of the laws be visited with an indeterminate sentence, regardless of the mental condition of the individual. But I am far too little of a visionary not to recognize the utter inutility of such a suggestion as this at the present stage of our social evolution. We shall come to it some day, of course—some day when the old puritanical "eye for eye" dogma, which still so largely informs the law, has been outgrown. That may happen fifty or a hundred years from now. But meantime, waiving all such twentieth-century doctrines, I offer the above suggestions to persons interested in medical jurisprudence everywhere, and particularly to legislators, as common-sense suggestions, capable of being made practicable at once—ideals for the future, practicality for the present. Half a loaf is better than no bread.

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

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THE CUBA OF THE FAR EAST.

BY THE HON. JOHN BARRETT, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

CUBA has a remarkable counterpart in the Asian-Pacific. The Philippine Islands, now the scene of rebellion, bear a striking resemblance to that home of revolution in the Atlantic. Both are Spanish possessions. Cuba is the richest island in the West Indies; the Philippines are the most resourceful of the East Indies. They lie respectively to the southeast of the continents of North America and Asia, with which they maintain close commercial relations. Both are located in the tropical zone and both have like products. After the famous Manila hemp, the greatest wealth of the Philippines is in sugar, as is that of Cuba. While Cuban tobacco in the shape of fragrant Havanas rules the market of the new world, the Manila cigars supply the demand of the old world. The United States buys the major portion of Cuba's exports and a goodly portion of those of the Philippines. Both possess inexhaustible and varied resources, which at present are only partially developed.

Cuba in her proximity to the United States will always be closely studied in America, but the Philippines are deserving of more attention than they now receive. The lack of general knowledge in America regarding this Asiatic group is to be regretted when we consider that, according to the best authorities, it forms the richest archipelago in the world. Were a person skeptical concerning this assertion, a visit to its ports and inland territory, and a cruise through the labyrinth of large and small islands, would remove all doubts. No less than 1,900 islands constitute this wonderful dependency of Spain.

A few figures will assist in giving an accurate idea of the Philippines. The area of the entire group nearly equals that of California or Japan, being variously estimated from 120,000 to

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160,000 square miles. The principal island, Luzon, is approximately equal in area to Illinois, or about 56,000 square miles. The total population is slightly in excess of that of New York State, and now numbers 7,000,000. In this connection it can be noted that Luzon alone exceeds Cuba in area by 14,000 square miles, and has over double the population. The second largest island is Mindanao. This is to the south, and occupies nearly the same area as West Virginia, or 24,000 square miles.

The Philippines hold a prominent position on the map of the Far East. Even a glance attests this contention. Manila, the capital, is easy of access from Hong Kong. Three days' steaming by a regular line of cargo carriers over a 600 miles route brings one to the home of tobacco and typhoons. Communication with Singapore is intermittent and usually by the way of Saranak and British North Borneo, over a 1,400 miles course. If the traveler does not meet a typhoon, which was my unlucky experience, he will find the sea trip to Manila agreeable. But it must be remembered—and will be well remembered if one is in the least squeamish or unnerved by tempestuous seas—that the Philippines are the birthplace, cradle, and nursery of typhoons of every description. Nor is that all. Nature in showering riches unnumbered upon Luzon did not forget to provide her with an ever-ready supply of earthquakes which are brought out to startle newcomers with suddenness and frequency. Japan is free from earthquakes compared to the Philippines. A man may be conscious of a slight motion in Yokohama, but in Manila his very bones seem to rattle. In Japan you are gently swayed; in Luzon you are racked. San Francisco, which enjoys a slight tremor now and then, would think that her foundations were of dynamite if she experienced one of the dozen shocks Manila has known in the last three decades. Indeed, the study of earthquakes past and present is a worthy excuse for visiting the Philippines. No less an authority than Sir John Bowring says, in describing these seismic effects: "They have overturned mountains; they have filled up valleys, they have desolated extensive plains; they have opened passages from the sea into the interior, and from the lake into the sea."

Are they not, then, a fit land for rebellion and insurrection? The spirits of air and earth alike nurture unrest. As I see again, as it were, those cavernous cracks in cathedrals and walls, those

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tottering spires and towers, those mountains where Pelion has veritably been piled on Ossa, insurrection seems the logical result of the surroundings and associations.

Romance is closely woven in the annals of the Philippines. Hither came the Spanish galleon, that craft whose name alone suggests adventure. From here it sailed away sunk to the gunwales with golden profits and tribute. Those were the times when the mariner sailed from Spain a pauper and returned a prince, when the kings and queens of Europe dismissed their jesters and sat enthralled by the stories of inexhaustible riches which were told.

It was the great Magellan that discovered the Philippines in 1520, and raised there the colors of King Charles I. of Spain. They were the scene of his triumph and of his death. Wounded while fighting with the natives in the island of Zebu, he never lived to receive the blessings and honors of the King who had despatched him on his historic sail around the world.

An inexhaustible source of enrichment to Spain, this colony has never been a source of comfort except during short periods of its history. In the early days the Chinese, who had traded with the islands for unknown ages, were loath to give way to the Spaniards, and strove to exterminate the invaders. Legaspi, the founder of Manila, placated them for the time being, but later they swept down from the north with vast piratical fleets, manned by tens of thousands, unheralded and unexpected, only to return when they had harassed the strangers to their satisfaction, and nearly expelled them from the islands. Dr. Von Moellendorff, the German Consul at Manila, has in his possession a Chinese publication written in the 13th century, which graphically describes the land, people, principal places and resources of the islands, and shows the customs and habits of the natives to have been much the same then as now.

The Dutch, too, were envious of Spain's conquest, and on one occasion a desperate naval battle was fought to defend Manila from their attack. When England and Spain were at war in the middle of the last century Manila was captured by the British and occupied for two years. Spain promised a ransom of $5,000,000, and the city was evacuated, but through the conditions prevailing in both Europe and the Orient England did not exact payment. The enthusiastic British advocate of colonial

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expansion now looks at this land of incalculable wealth and berates the statesmen of those days for surrendering such a prize. If the bystander desires to further irritate him he will indulge in mild references to the time when Java also was a British possession.

Were I asked to name the chief characteristic of the Philippine Islands—after earthquakes and typhoons—I would at once suggest the power and hold of the ecclesiastics. This makes the first and last impression on the visitor; it is before him wherever he travels; it visibly predominates in the government and even extends into commerce; it is an all-controlling influence in the Philippine group. If at first one is prejudiced against it the feeling in a measure vanishes and even turns into admiration.

The church and state are practically one, though nominally not identical. If there is evil in this ecclesiastic sway it is assuredly more than counterbalanced by the good it accomplishes for the natives or common people. The majority appear happy and content. The restless, uneasy class, among whom the present insurrection has its followers, are the half-castes (Mestizos), descended from Chinese fathers and native mothers, who represent a small proportion of the entire population, though strong enough to organize a rebellion. They care little for either church or state.

A marked result of the influence of the church is that the inhabitants of the Philippines are Christian—a condition which stands out in decided contrast to that of other lands of Asia. From one end of Luzon to the other, few, if any, Pagan temples can be seen lifting their pagodas and pinnacles to the sky.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Philippines are the home of barbaric, uncivilized tribes. Manila was the seat of colleges, observatories, and technical schools before Chicago was founded; roads to all points of the compass had been constructed by the friars in Luzon before there was a paved street in the vicinity of the site of Franklin Square in New York City; and devoted padres had carried the gospel to the heart of the tropical jungle before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock.

Except in wild portions of the interior and in distant unexploited islands a considerable proportion of the inhabitants can read and write. Spanish is the language of the more advanced

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classes, while a "pidgin" Spanish is spoken by the uneducated. There is no one native tongue, but a variety of dialects, of which the principal are the Tagalese and Visayan. The schools are exclusively in the hands of the church, and appear to be well conducted. In Manila are colleges with advanced curriculums and modern facilities. Of the several millions of people in Luzon, not over half a million are beyond the absolute control of the priests, whose efforts to preserve order are so respected that lawlessness is seldom displayed within the sphere of their influence. Numbering nearly 3,000, they include many men of great ability, noble character, and wide knowledge; the majority are faithful to their vows, and the few who backslide are usually of mixed blood, or natives.

The ecclesiastics of the Philippines represent the leading orders. The Augustinians, who were the pioneers, were closely followed by the Franciscans, after whom in turn came the Dominican Fathers, the Religious Devotees, the Society of Jesus and the Capuchins. With headquarters in Manila, they have divided up in some remarkable but satisfactory way the provinces and villages, so that their work goes on with little friction. They, at least, have demonstrated that missionary work can succeed among Asiatics.

Looking more closely at the natives, we find them gentle, polite, and hospitable. They are not ambitious beyond owning a little home and having sufficient rice for the family. Thirty-five dollars will provide a man with abundant food and clothing for a year. Although inclined to be lazy, as are all tropical people, they are exceedingly fond of amusements. Every village has its band, and on the slightest provocation the band will play and the dancers gather. Let some one cry out, however, that a cock-fight is to take place, and the music and dancing will stop as suddenly as they began. The women, more than the men, are the supporters of the family, and, as in Siam and the Malay States, they do most of the marketing and petty trading. Still more to their credit, be it recorded that they have strict regard for family ties.

Cock-fighting might be called the national sport, as bull-fighting is in Madrid. Not a town is without a cock-pit. In Manila thousands witness the contests. The noise and excitement exceed the confusion of an American baseball game when

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the home team scores a winning run in the last inning. The right to have, or rent, cock-pits is sold to the highest bidder and the state revenue from this source amounts to several hundred thousand dollars a year.

The government of the Philippines reposes in a Governor-General, who is appointed by the Sovereign of Spain. He resides in Manila and is assisted by a Council of State. The islands, with separate governors, are divided into provinces, which are subdivided into districts, communes, and parishes, with appropriate officials. There is also a Council of State for the Philippines, which sits in Madrid and advises the Minister of Colonies. The present Governor-General is Blanco y Erenas, a man of considerable experience and high standing in Spanish official circles. The regular military force does not much exceed 10,000 men, of which number about one-third are native infantry. Now that a rebellion has broken out, the number of troops is being augmented by every steamer that arrives. A fleet of small gunboats and two or three cruisers make Manila their headquarters, but it is plain that the city is not protected with reference to defence against a foreign power. It could be easily razed to the ground by a half dozen modern gunboats—but that is true of most of our American seaports. The state, army and navy officials one meets in Manila are an agreeable set of men, particularly the latter. The police force of the Philippines is worthy of special mention. It is better than would be expected. The rank and file is composed of natives, but the officers belong to the army. Strict discipline is maintained and few complaints are registered on account of neglect of duty.

In material wealth the Philippines are lavishly blessed. Hemp, sugar, and tobacco are three products that bring enormous profits, and coffee bids fair to soon rival them. In 1894 the hemp marketed was valued in gold at $7,693,860; sugar, $5,816,848; tobacco, $1,674,094. The total foreign trade this year will probably exceed $35,000,000. There is a heavy tax on imports, which, with other customs' dues, direct taxes, monopolies, and lotteries, bring in an annual revenue of $8,000,000, or about one-fourth of the valuation of the foreign commerce.

The prodigality of nature impresses the traveller wherever he journeys. In the forest he sees ebony, logwood, iron wood, sapan wood, gum trees, and cedar; between the forests and the gardens

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the fruiting trees, orange, mango, tamarind, guava, and cocoanut; in the cultivated area, sugar cane, tobacco, rice, hemp, coffee, cotton, bananas, vanilla, cassia, ginger, pepper, indigo, cocoa, pine apples, wheat, and corn. The minerals include gold, copper, iron, coal, quicksilver, sulphur, and saltpetre. From the sea, mother of pearl, coral, tortoise shell, and amber are derived. And these are by no means the only resources—they are nothing more than a casual list noted down as each plant or product came under my observation. The animal kingdom keeps pace with the vegetable and mineral. To say nothing of the water buffalo, the most useful beast in the tropics, goats, sheep, swine, and the tough little ponies, which take part in the domestic life of the people, the jungle swarms with fauna of such variety that the naturalist finds here a paradise. Snakes and lizards, spiders and ants, tarantulas and crocodiles abound. Apparently strange to relate, there are few beasts of prey, if any, worthy of note—but this is not strange when it is remembered that the Philippines are islands far distant from the main land. The flora of the country is no less rich than the fauna.

The physical conformation of Luzon is conducive to extensive cultivation and large population. The high mountain range in the interior gradually lowers toward the sea, making beautiful valleys, rolling hills, upland and lowland, forest and field, drained with numerous rivers and dotted here and there with lakes. The coast line is irregular, and bays and bayous extend far inland.

Before saying good-bye to the Philippines we must take a final glance at Manila—one of the great cities of the Far East, concerning which the world at large knows so little. With a population of 300,000, it is growing more rapidly than many of our own cities. It is a combination of the ancient and the modern. The first impression is that of a mediæval town, but a closer inspection discloses railroads, street cars, telephones, electric light, boulevards, parks, clubs, suburbs, and all the advantages —and vices—of the nineteenth century. Manila rests on low ground, and with few high buildings does not make a remarkable skyline as seen from the steamer entering port. Massive new docks and jetties in course of construction show the modern commercial spirit of the town, while back of these the walled city, with battlements and fortresses, reminds one of the eventful

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past. The steamer anchors half a mile from the mouth of the narrow River Pasig, which flows from east to west through the heart of the city. This stream is alive with small craft, and is crossed by handsome bridges. On the south side is the old walled Manila proper; on the north, the newer and business portion. Further up the river, to the east, are handsome homes of merchants. The English and German community, numbering 300 or more, support excellent clubs in addition to those maintained by the European Spaniards, of whom there are, approximately, 5,000. The social side of life is also kept up by theatres, musical societies, and lawn tennis, golf, gun, cycling, and jockey clubs. Trade and shipping are guarded by a chamber of commerce; charity and benevolence are represented in hospitals, homes and asylums; education by colleges and schools of law, theology, medicine, pharmacy, and manual training; fine arts and science by museums, rare collections, and observatories; manufacturing by immense cigar, cigarette and rope factories, and religion by cathedrals, monasteries, nunneries, and convents without limit.

The present insurrection first gave signs of life in the early summer of this year and troubles began in August. The capture of Manila was set for September 18, but was frustrated by the discovery of the plot on August 30. There is no such organization, strength, leadership, and equipment among the insurgents as in Cuba, and it would appear to be only a question of a few months before the flame of revolution is reduced to a spark.

JOHN BARRETT.

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THE FRENCH NAVY.

BY M. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU.

At this epoch, when the whole world is in a fever and arming to the utmost, public opinion has good reason to heed the points gained by all those nations which are of some account as military powers, and which, within twenty-four hours, may find themselves in a struggle.

The European powers to be considered in connection with this particular subject are six in number: England, Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and Russia. Leaving aside the various land forces, the value of which is about equal, I will treat especially of the sea forces which have more particularly occupied the attention of public writers during recent years.

What do we find at the time of my writing? On one side, Germany, Austria, and Italy, grouped in a geographical unit, cemented by the triple alliance. On the other side, France and Russia, which, while far removed from each other, seem to be bound to act together. Lastly, isolated from all, but free in every motion, England appears to us as the arbiter of all contests, ready as she is to cause the scales to deflect on the side to which she will bring the strength of her fleet, of her manufacturing resources, and of her credit.

France is placed in a rather peculiar position. On the continent she must concentrate her defensive forces against the steady danger from Germany, without, however, neglecting Italy, which is to be feared above all from the sea. Besides, on account of the position of her coast, she finds herself, so to speak, within range of England's guns, and therefore obliged to anticipate the interference of this last power, under the penalty of falling at any moment into a position almost desperate if attacked by all.

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The French navy may play a more important part in the next war than many people are willing to imagine. At the outset, the French fleet appears in the Mediterranean as the right flank of the French army, this latter presenting a front, from the Vosges to the Maritime Alps, against an Italo-German invasion. It represents meanwhile, in the North Sea and the Baltic, the left flank of that immense strategic deploy, which, overflowing the continents, extends the battlefields beyond the coasts.

But the mere conception of such an extension of the French naval forces necessarily implies an English neutrality. If this neutrality should fail—if, as she did a century ago, England should join the continental coalition—France would find herself suddenly thrown into such peril that there would appear to be no hope of her ultimate success.

The armies of the French Revolution vanquished the strongest armies of monarchical Europe. Napoleon pursuing and outdoing the military achievements of the Republic seemed to have crushed the last resistance of the allied sovereigns. Yet even he was finally forced to resign the struggle in the face of England.

"In spite of all appearances, it is not in Moscow ablaze that Napoleon's luck disappeared; it was engulfed in the waters of Trafalgar. In vain victories followed victories. All the triumphs on land will not save him. The hero is wounded to death, although the wound is a hidden one. . . . England's vessels have vanquished at Waterloo. There would never have been a Blücher had there not been a Nelson."*

France has thus a pre-eminent interest in making sure of English neutrality in case of a contest with the Triple Alliance. Is she capable of forcing this neutrality on her enemy of centuries? That is a question which, as the case stands, it is difficult to answer. It is, however, the primary condition of success, and if it is lacking, no amount of bravery can make up for the deficiency in our means of defence. Friends or foes may admire the heroic deeds of our brave marines, just as King William did at Sedan; but the issue of the contest will nevertheless be settled beforehand. The question is not how the French will fight; but what will be their chances of victory, within the limits of human foresight.

Now what a temptation for England—always so eager to guard her own interests—to take advantage of the opportu-

*Admiral Réveillère: Preface to "*Les Guerres Navales de Demain*," by the Commandant Z. and H. Montéchant.

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nity, when Europe will be annihilating herself with her own hands, to interfere without any risk in the contest and seize the greatest profits. To refuse to recognize this eventuality, as French strategists have systematically been doing until now, is pure folly, the more inexplicable from the fact that England could not allow us to beat Italy on the sea, without by the same blow losing her most powerful means of action against us in the Mediterranean Sea.

Under those conditions, while we have the utmost interest in avoiding at this very moment a conflict between France and England, how is it possible for us to divert the chance of British intervention if not by threatening our neighbors with a warfare of cruise and privateering, which would be so disastrous to them, instead of stupidly offering, as we do, the antiquated contest by squadron in which they have every reason to feel assured of victory. We have, in fact, sacrificed to the pompous conception of the squadron contest, and to its foremost implement, the iron-clad, the defense of our harbors and coasts, and our surest means of offensive action, the privateering or mercantile war, of which the case of the "Alabama" alone is sufficient to recall the dreadful results. Without a rational organization of our seaboard by means of a fleet of cruisers supported by a strongly protected and provided base-line, we cannot by any means check England. To elude the difficulty, our Admiralty has found nothing better than to refuse to consider the hypothesis of a war with Great Britain, which is designedly discarded from its plans. I admit that its task is thus rendered much easier, though at the same time it is to be regretted that it entirely fails in its duty toward the country.

Thus rid of all cares on the side of their most dangerous adversaries, our admirals have limited themselves to preparation for a squadron fight with the Triple Alliance, as is proved by the resolutions of the "Grand Council of the Navy," inserted in the report by Mons. Pelletan of the Ways and Means Committee for 1896. These resolutions, the importance of which does not seem to have impressed either the government or the Houses, read as follows:

"The Grand Council of the navy, regretting the impossibility, on account of material difficulties in the work, of building a number of iron-clads equal to that commanded by the Triple Alliance, has fixed twenty-

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four as the number of battleships of this kind which shall be in readiness in 1904."

Nothing more clear. The admission is even so plain that to risk it there must have been complete confidence in the want of information of our representatives. We shall see where the judgment of our Admiralty leads us when we make a comparison between the French navy and those of our rivals.

We already know enough to perceive how wrong are the tendencies of the French navy, and how they might, if left to persevere in that direction, bring us to disaster, which can still be averted by an average amount of prudence. The motive of such a monstrous error is plainly the lack of rational leading ideas and neglect of the scientific principles and methods set forth some fifty years ago by a parliamentary inquiry, practically forgotten, which it appears to me the time has now arrived to recall.

The evil from which the French navy is suffering dates from far in the past, as the wars of the Revolution and the Empire, notwithstanding a few glorious encounters,* bear testimony.

The National Assembly of 1848, in sympathy with a movement of renovation which stirred all minds and disposed them towards the immense task of general reconstruction, brought its attention to bear upon the navy. After an exceedingly hot debate, at the termination of which Mons. de Tracy, Secretary of the Navy, tendered his resignation, the Assembly decided "that an inquiry should be instituted regarding the organization and workings of all the departments of the navy." (Law of October 31 1849.) The committee appointed during public sittings held on the 7th, 8th and 9th of November, 1849, was composed of the following members: MM. Collas, Daru, Admiral Hernoux, Admiral Charner, Jules de Lasteyrie, Benoît d'Azy, Dufaure, Lanjuinais, Admiral Laîné, Fournier, Lacrosse, Dahirel, Ch. Dupin, de Montebello and Maissiat.

Mons. Dufaure was elected chairman. From November 12, 1849, the date of its first meeting, until November 19, 1851, the committee held altogether two hundred and three sittings, either in Paris or in the seaports, and took down eighty-nine depositions from officers and functionaries of all grades.

* An officious writer has contended that the inferiority of the French navy at that epoch of our history was mostly caused by the emigration which had taken away its best officers. The deal is preposterous, for the same remark applies equally as well to the army, which, as every one knows, distinguished itself by incomparable victories.

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It must be borne in mind that the committee deemed it advisable not to limit its control to the workings of the naval service, but that its province should be, as well, to lay down the principles and to point out the necessary policy of the French maritime power. Consequently, it decided that, once the inquiry concluded, it would open the general report with a preamble in which there should be resolved the following question: "Why does France require any ships?"

The debate on this fundamental question began on the 24th of January, 1851, following the conclusion of the taking of the evidence, and on the eve of the commitment of the general report which Chairman Dufaure had agreed to write.

Considering the contingencies of war, Admiral Hernoux, a committeeman, stated that, both on the ocean and in the Indian and Chinese seas, all that the French navy could do was "to ruin English commerce, and to accomplish this, the only requirements were swift ships and coaling stations."

As for the European seas, Admiral Hernoux declared with great force against the squadron contest.

"In the inner seas of Europe, would a squadron encounter be possible? The progress of artillery would render them quite different from what they were in the past. In 1704, the Count of Toulouse, after four days' cannonading, was able to retire from the fight with a few men killed and a few ships damaged in their riggings, and yet this battle was not without importance in the eye of combined European powers. In our days, however, two squadrons, equally well equipped and commanded, would in all probability present nothing but wreck and ruin at the termination of a serious encounter.*

"The two belligerent powers would be in command of the same proportion of strength as before the battle, save for the fact that they would each be a squadron short, and France could not replace hers as easily as England. She must, therefore, on principle abandon the squadron contest, and only accept a regular battle when it is forced upon her, in which predicament she will often find herself, if the great factor of speed is not on her side."

Admiral Laîné contends that the aim of a navy is "to cooperate in the protection of the national territory through the defence of the sea coast." Like Admiral Hernoux, he insists on the advantages of superior speed.

*How strong this remark actually is in view of the increasing intricacy of the modern war vessel, the manifest progress of artillery, the appearance of the torpedo on the scene of war, and the replacing of the antiquated gun-powder by the most modern explosives!

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The advantages of speed are set forth by Commandant Maissiat in a most forcible manner. He says:

"It would be perfection itself to combine great power with great speed and a broad field of action; but we cannot secure at once these three elements, each of which calls for so great a weight and incumbrance when brought to its maximum, that, to unite them on board the same ship is impracticable."

It therefore devolves upon us to make a selection, and give to our ships either extreme power or extreme speed. Commandant Maissiat does not hesitate to give preference to extreme speed, and the reasons which he cites cannot be gainsaid.

"With a maximum of speed it is possible to defy the threats of a very powerful man-of-war by avoiding an engagement, and carrying the attack elsewhere; while at best there is always the alternative to shirk an unequal battle and spare the forces of the country until less disadvantageous circumstances arise.

"Strength is thus only a means of victory in the face of an adversary powerfully equipped, and is of no avail whatever against a fleeter enemy.

"Speed is a means of leaving a port, even while in the midst of strong foes; it is a means of a *coup de main*, and finally a means of self-preservation. Therefore it is the most natural means of a sudden attack against an adversary who possesses greater power, but is vulnerable in more points. Therefore, it is the natural, the indispensable, weapon of that nation which, though the weaker and less rich upon the seas, is yet the most fearless by national character, and is thus by all means the genuine weapon of France."*

Admiral Charner also shares the opinion so strongly supported by Commandant Maissiat. He adds:

"France cannot endeavor to put to sea as many vessels as England—a power which should always be taken into consideration when speaking of a maritime war. The defence of our colonies in the event of such a war becomes impossible. Our ships, therefore, require not so much the capacity to carry large quantities of provisions on long cruises, as a great speed. It is by this means alone that, avoiding battles when their lesser strength will put them at a disadvantage, they will attack the adversary at a given point under more opportune circumstances."

Admiral Charner concludes by summing up his remarks in these words: "I persist in thinking that speed is the most important element of a naval force."

Among the officers called upon to testify by the committee was the illustrious Admiral Baudin, from whose deposition I quote the following:

"The protection of our coasts appears to me the most important and material point. It must lead all others. We must commence by protecting

* Minutes of the sitting of February 1, 1851.

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the maritime interests of our coasts, by rendering it impossible for the foe to burn the ports, or to abuse or injure the citizens who dwell upon our shores. This need of coast protection is the first and most indispensable of all.

"Undoubtedly the next maritime war will differ entirely from those of the past, the use of steam as a power not only working a radical change in the manner of carrying on hostilities, but in the aim of the war as well.

"Undoubtedly, should our antagonist in the next war be England, situated as she is, so conveniently opposite our seaports, and having at her command a momentous steam power, easily transportable, and capable of surmounting difficulties to which the old sail-craft, at the mercy of the wind, the calm, and the tide, were obliged to submit, England would from the outset adopt a system of agression that would be fatal to us.

"In the actual state of our coasts, they stand almost defenceless. I know they are considering the fortification of Havre. I have studied the question myself. I have carefully gone over the plan of the seven attacks directed against that city by way of the sea since the time of Louis XIV. to the time of Napoleon. None of these attacks had any decisive result, merely because they had at their command neither steam nor the powerful means of action now at the disposal of naval artillery. Besides, Havre is only one point of the seaboard, and everywhere the English could burn our maritime cities, if we do not secure a very strong plan of defence.

"So I believe that the need of protecting the coasts is paramount.

"Necessarily the protection of our coasts demands both standing and movable defences, the latter of which have still to be built.

"In France everything is done in so conservative a manner, that we can not be in too much haste to commence and build a powerful navy, propelled by steam, which, when our coasts are attacked, will repair rapidly from one point to another, and shelter them from the incursions of the enemy."

To sum up, the parliamentary inquiry stated as principles the three leading ideas:

1st. It is against the most redoubtable foe on sea that the French Admiralty has the duty of preparing for a struggle.

2d. The first necessary step to be taken is to assure movable defence for the harbors and coasts.

3d. The dominating quality of the French fleet must be a maximum of speed.

Mons. Dufaure, the Chairman, had almost completed his report when the *coup de état* of December 2, 1851, took place, as well as the breaking up of the National Assembly. Naval reforms were then out of the question. We had started on the road to Sedan.

The first earnest attempt at reorganization, as we have seen, did not result in anything definite during the eighteen years that the Empire lasted. We were never entangled in a serious naval war. Our fleet took part in the Crimean war and in a few Colo-

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nial expeditions In the Baltic the Russian fleet did not leave the harbors; at Sebastopol it sank its own vessels to obstruct the channels. We proceeded in this way as late as the Franco-German war, which also did not present any real naval battle, although we might cite the insignificant encounter of the German dispatch-boat, "Meteor," with the French boat, "Le Bouvet," in the waters of Havana. After running foul of each other once they were so damaged that they re-entered port, and remained side by side until peace was declared.

Another naval feat more worthy of relation is the following. In December, 1870, our fleet, master of the high seas, unchallenged by the little Prussian squadron, was, nevertheless, completely powerless. Until Sedan, our ships cruised in the North Sea and in the Baltic, without attempting any attack on the harbors of the adversary.* In return we had the vexation of seeing the light packet sloop-of-war "Augusta," fitted out as a privateer, shoot out of Wilhemshafen under the guns of our vessels, cross without inconvenience the Straits of Dover and the English Channel, sail into the Bay of Biscay and establish itself at the mouth of the Gironde, where it captured successively two merchant-men, the "St. Marc," and the "Pierre-Adolphe." It even entered the river, with the idea, undoubtedly, of putting Bordeaux under ransom, but the formidable aspect of Fort "Pâté"† made the Captain reconsider the advisability of such a course, and it turned back.

Then the commander of the "Augusta" sailed up to the anchorage of the Isle "d'Aix," opposite the harbor of Rochefort, occupied for a few hours Fort Boyard, at that time without a garrison, and carried off from the roadstead a small tug belonging to the state. Then lacking coal, he repaired to Vigo, whence our consular agent reported its presence. Two of our warships were ordered there, and anchored at last in the Spanish harbor next to the "Augusta," and remained in this position until the end of the war.

What would have happened if the Captain of the "Augusta" had been still more daring? What if he had been akin to the

*On account of the approach to the coast of Germany, and the long distance between harbors and commercial points and the open sea, where they safely could enjoy the protection of their armored vessels, were entirely useless service on the seas which they should have fought. Has this condition of things been altered after [illegible] five years?

†At that time Fort Pâté had not a serviceable gun, nor any garrison whatever.

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blockade runners of the Secession War? What if he had procured his supplies out at sea? What if he had had followers, and Prussia had granted letters of marque?*

Would it have been possible to continue the fight on the "Loire"? Would not the cost of freight from the States to the French ports have increased tenfold?

"We should not forget that if, in 1871, France was able to resist longer, and save by this delay, if not her territory, at least her honor, it was due to her freedom of action on the side of the sea.

"Having intercourse through her ports with the whole world, she found in the ocean an inexhaustible source of life. In the critical position of a man whose one lung does not work, she still breathed through the other, and lived in this way until the enemy crushed her heart.

"If the Germans had been masters of the sea, France—compressed as in a vice—would have instantly perished from suffocation." †

Our navy was able to render active service in the national defence only from the moment when its men were landed.

*Armed privateers. It is a fact that Germany had forfeited this right since the "Declaration of Paris" (April 16, 1856) annexed to the Treaty of Paris (March, 1856). Section 1. of this instrument is worded as follows: "Privateering is and shall remain abolished." To this Mexico, Spain, and the United States, as we know, declined their adherence. In his letter of July 28, 1856, Secretary of State Marcy explained the refusal of the United States, stating that the new arrangements would particularly favor those nations which, having both a large maritime traffic and a strong navy, would then be able, in all security, to concentrate their forces for attack, and this without being exposed to any retaliation against their trade—which would be so tempting to the adversary. That is what made Lord Clarendon and Lord Palmerston say at Westminster: "England is the one most benefited by the change."

The cause why England accepted arbitration in the "Alabama claims," and why in the late Venezuelan conflict she retained such a friendly attitude toward the United States, despite the unwelcome messages which came to her from the other side, may largely be found in the fear of a contest with privateers.

Lieutenant Mizon relates that in 1885, at the time of the first French expedition against Madagascar, some Hispano-American adventurers applied to the Court of Emyrne to be granted a certain number of letters of marque in blank. They boasted that they would be able to fit out a few ships, which, under the Hovas flag, would run down the French merchant vessels in the Indian Sea. Among other plans, they proposed to cruise around the outlet of the Red Sea, in the latitude of the Gulf of Aden, and there to stop all troopships and steamers of the 'Messageries Maritime Company" bound to or from the Far East. We may fancy the ruin the French traffic would have undergone if we realize that the ships they offered to equip had a speed superior to that of the most rapid French cruiser of the time. And Lieutenant Mizon adds, it happened to be the English government which, with all its might, influenced the Court of Emyrne and dissuaded it from entering on a course which other nations would certainly have imitated.

However, England, while benefiting for the present by the privileged situation she has secured through the "Declaration of 1856," has not overlooked the advantages she could derive from the re-establishment of privateering in case of a contest with certain powers, the maritime trade of which has some importance, say, for example, the United States. This is why in 1876, on the other side of the channel, we were entertained by the strange spectacle of an agitation in favor of restoring the privateers.

I will cite as an example, the pamphlet of Mr. John Paget, a lawyer, entitled "Naval Powers and Their Policy," another by Admiral Hall, 'Our National Defences," and I should also mention a lecture by an English officer, Mr. Ross, of Bladensburg, to the Royal United Service Institution. Each of these writings is a plea in favor of the restoration of privateering.

Thus, even in England, the question is not regarded as definitely settled. So much more is it necessary for France if she start to organize her navy in anticipation of a mercantile war, to begin as an initial step to denounce the end of the "Declaration of Paris."

†Admiral Réveillère: Préface to "*Les Guerres Navales de Demain.*"

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Then our gallant marines had an opportunity to show their courage, and it is known how they fought near Paris and in the Army of the Loire. However, the utter inadequacy of our battleships is sufficient to illustrate that the hundreds of millions of francs wasted during the Empire, in spite of the precious directions furnished by the Committee of Inquiry of 1849–1851, had resulted in nothing but a magnificent organization of impotency.

At the conclusion of the war of 1870, our navy was, as Mons. Etienne Lamy puts it, "more popular, but more unknown than ever." The navy was, of course, included in the re-organization of our forces, as was planned by the various governments which succeeded each other following the treaty of Frankfort. In a general way, we may say that our land forces and our sea forces were entrusted, except for purely formal control, to the same chiefs who had just shown their complete inability to make use of them. Nevertheless, the Parliament, on several occasions, made some efforts to obtain an account of the true state of our national forces; but their attempts, without system, without "*esprit de suite*," have always clashed with the official optimism, which, under the Republic, as under the Empire, after Sedan as before, affirms imperturbably, to the plaudits of the parliamentary rabble, that everything is the best in an organization whose leaders are entirely satisfied with themselves.

As for the navy, Mons. Etienne Lamy, Secretary of the Committee of the Budget for that department in the year 1879, was one of the first to give the alarm.

"After the war of 1870, the navy was not impoverished. It had, still untouched, a fleet of four hundred ships, estimated at 400,000,000 francs. This naval wealth, far from demanding new sacrifices, seemed too considerable for the new position of France. It was resolved to limit the forces to what would be indispensable.

"In the plans of 1872, this force amounted to 210 vessels, estimated at 400,000,000 francs. To execute this, it seemed that the fleet should merely be decreased, and as was said at the time, a reduced fleet picked out from the old superabundant one.

"Unfortunately, that was a great mistake. In 1873, there were not found over 228 ships, having cost 228,000,000 francs, with which to compose a regular fleet. At the same time, it was figured that the plan of 1872 would cost, in order to be put into effect, over 600,000,000 francs."

This double error, too high an estimation of the existing material, and too low a one of the coming outlay, is a character-

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istic of our navy department. Without having lost anything through the war, it did not cease to claim extraordinary supplies to reconstitute its material. The problem was to realize the programme of 1872, a plan sentimental, unelaborated, which it was far from being possible to execute, in spite of the promises given the Parliament which had granted the credits.

Mons. Etienne Lamy tried to state precisely the new ideas, and to outline our naval reforms. He said:

"To have a navy is to have a fleet—that is, to have vessels and marines. What is the number and the strength of these vessels? What are the number and service of the men?

"Everything is combined in the navy for a decisive action, yet, nevertheless, during half a century such an action has never shown itself. Such persistent shortcoming denotes permanent defects, and incriminates the administration of the department.

"The French navy has retained, in the midst of reforms which took place in all other departments, the same old establishments; and the maintenance of the past, which should have excluded all reasons for extraordinary expenses, is on the contrary the very cause which explains them.

"The normal proportion between the material and the hands with which to man it, does not exist in our navy.

"The French fleet is, of all others, the one most expensive to support. To build a small number of vessels at a time, a few shipyards only suffice; but in order to build them rapidly, these shipyards must have powerful means at their command. In France, the fear of bringing to ruin cities supported only by their military establishments, together with a thousand private interests always ready to work against the general welfare, and even, in some proportion, public interest itself, prevented the closing of any port. . . .

"Thus, since 1870, foreign navies have always produced new samples of battleships in a shorter time than the French navy. As long as progress proceeds so fast and the construction so slowly, parts of the fleet in the shipyard will be worthless before even having touched the water. It may be stated as a general rule that, for identical constructions, the state shipyards spend at least one-third more time and labor than those of private industry. . . .

"Not half of the credits for the department are spent on the navy—that is, on the vessels and those who man them. . . .

"Just as the actual number of marines vanishes when compared to the number of extra employees, the fleet itself is but an annex of the various departments on land.

After having proved the evils and pointed out their cause, Mons. Etienne Lamy tells us of the remedy:

"Public sentiment demands from the best wisdom of the House a navy in which the fleet is the principal object, the staffs reduced in numbers but well compensated, kept in activity by constant labor; the implements on such a scale as to render strong and fast building possible; where nothing is lost in complications, where everything is plain, orderly and powerful."

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After this report of Mons. Etienne Lamy, we might have expected that the work of the Dufaure Commission would have been taken up and brought to a fulfilment. But again events were going to disappoint this expectation. Mons. Etienne Lamy was not re-elected, and until 1881 the peace of the palace of the "Rue Royale" remained undisturbed by any adverse reports.

G. CLEMENCEAU.

(*To be continued.*)

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WILL THE SOUTH BE SOLID AGAIN?

BY MARION L. DAWSON.

In the recent presidential campaign the issues which were dominant in the past were relegated to a place of minor importance, or were altogether disregarded. The influences which have been heretofore successfully exerted on the rank and file of both the Republican and Democratic parties to hold them in line were found to have lost their power. They were no longer potential factors; all issues were made subservient to the money question.

The Republican party which had before rallied its followers around the standard of protection and had proclaimed for a strong central government, and had not hesitated to defend the doctrine of federal interference in state affairs, now hoisted an ensign upon the folds of which were emblazoned the magic words "sound money" and "national honor." With this new ensign for its battle flag and these words for its war cry, it threw down the gauge to the Democrats.

The Democratic party, though it had, in the past, in all of its platforms declared, *first,* for tariff reform, States' rights, equal privileges to all and special favors to none, readily accepted the challenge and hurriedly prepared to reorganize its demoralized followers to meet the enemy. The issue was thus made. It was well defined, clear cut and radically different from the issues which had been before fought out on national political battle fields.

The victorious party not only held in line those States which are usually relied upon to give Republican majorities, but it carried also the so-called doubtful States of the Middle West, California, North Dakota, and Oregon of the Far West,

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together with the doubtful States of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. More significant still, it invaded the Solid South, and bore off West Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky; caused North Carolina to tremble in the balance and reduced Democratic majorities in the following States: Alabama, 39,000; Arkansas, 29,000; Florida, 6,000; Georgia, 49,000; Louisiana, 33,000; South Carolina, 6,000, and Texas, 29,000. These facts, taken together with the great land-slide of 1894 and 1895, which swept Missouri and Tennessee, Maryland and Kentucky over into the country of the enemy, have caused Southern statesmen to seriously consider whether the so-called Solid South is not now a thing of past history; whether "new issues have not made new conditions," and whether that fraternal union which has heretofore solidly cemented all of the Southern States has not been effectually dissolved. The recent election certainly severed the tie. The debatable question, therefore, is not whether the Solid South has been dissolved—that is a demonstrated fact—but whether in future elections these States will re-unite and again cast a solid vote for the nominee of the Democratic party.

To determine this question satisfactorily it is important to consider briefly the nature, past and present, of the Republican party, the chief political opponent of Democracy; the causes which have heretofore influenced the Southern States, since the war, to cast a solid electoral vote in all national elections in opposition to that party; and the questions which will continue to be live and dominant issues in the future.

The principles which were declared for in the first Republican Convention which assembled at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, when Jno. C. Fremont, of California, and William L. Dayton, of New Jersey, were nominated, were directly opposed to the welfare and the prosperity of the South from a Southern point of view. She, the South, believed in slavery and had defended the system for a hundred years, and the threat was then openly made by the leaders in the slave States that if Fremont was elected these States would secede. The same threat was still more openly and loudly proclaimed when Lincoln was nominated at Chicago, May 16, 1860, on practically the same platform. It may be safely asserted, however, that neither Mr. Lincoln, nor any of the other leaders of the Republican party, ever seriously considered allowing the Union to be thus dismembered, even if it required

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the arbitrament of war to decide the right of secession and to prevent the South from taking a step so suicidal to herself and so fatal to the existence of the Union. Lincoln was elected; the slave States left the Union; the war came. The South was laid waste with fire and sword in many regions so effectually "that a crow flying over those regions had to carry his rations." How gallantly she bore herself in that terrific struggle in the defence of rights which she believed, and which many still believe, were originally guaranteed to each sovereign State by the Constitution, is well known to history. It was predestined by a power superior to that of man, however, that the Union should stand. It did stand. The cause of the South went down in defeat, but its end was a glorious one. It accepted the result in good faith, and when Lee delivered up his sword at Appomattox the war was ended.

Then came the mighty upheaval of Southern society and the dark days of reconstruction. The methods resorted to by a Republican Congress during this trying period, when the South was still smarting under defeat, outraged her sensitive pride. State after State gradually came back into the Union. They brought with them only patriotism and loyalty; none would sooner preserve the old flag from the stain of dishonor or defend the Union against her enemies.

The effort which was made by the Republicans to change, in a day, a densely ignorant, illiterate, and inferior race of slaves into electors and law-makers, and to elevate them to offices of trust and responsibility, and to place in their hands the sceptre of political and civil power over those who had but yesterday been their masters, naturally aroused a united and determined resistance in the South.

But notwithstanding the establishment of a bayonet government, the well-known act of 1870, and the much harsher force bill measure of 1871, which empowered the President to surround the ballot box with Federal troops, the South, influenced by the same ruling spirit, which has characterized the Anglo-Saxon from the beginning of his history to the present day, and which has made him, with no exception, the ruler over every inferior race with which he has come in contact, boldly declared her fixed intention to dethrone the negro and his so-called "carpet-bag" and "scalawag" allies. For this purpose, in her desperation,

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she organized that mysterious and dreaded political society known as the Ku-Klux Klan, with its "dens," "ghouls," "giants," "goblins," "titans," "furies," and "dragons." The powerful arm of this masked army reached everywhere; none escaped it. The proudest aristocrat, the most dignified professional man, and staid college professors attended its secret conclaves and joined in midnight raids. They successfully defied the power of the national government and laughed at the troops sent to suppress them. Their spies were in every household; nothing escaped their vigilance, and the reign of terror which they established is yet fresh in the minds of many. With the re-establishment of social order, this society, having performed the task for which it was questionably created, passed away, leaving many to condemn and few to defend it. The order of President Grant to send troops to New Orleans in 1874, a necessary order, considering the then existing conditions, the excitement attending the seating of Kellogg, the Republican nominee for Governor of Louisiana, over his Democratic opponent in 1875, the unseating of Samuel J. Tilden in 1876, the continued waving of the bloody shirt, and the reopening of old wounds with each recurring election, all resulted in strengthening the tie with which the South was solidly united by the enfranchisement of the negro. No mere differences of opinion touching the merits of economic questions could weaken this bond while the South was menaced by federal bayonets, force bill legislation, and the withering curse of negro domination. While these conditions, or any of them, or any relic of them, existed, it was a foregone conclusion that every Southern State would cast its electoral vote for the nominee of the Democratic party in every national election. But now that the last vestige of force bill legislation has been eliminated from the statute books and the Republican leaders show a marked tendency to temper the policy of their party toward the South, it might be thought safe to predict that in future diversified interests would influence Southern States, as they have always influenced other States, to support that party which champions measures most friendly to themselves and best calculated to promote their material prosperity. This would undoubtedly be a safe prediction but for one fact which seems to have been overlooked, or purposely ignored, by those who have publicly discussed this question. It is conceded by all

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that the force bill is a dead issue, but many Southern people still believe that by a repeal of this measure the danger of negro domination was only temporarily removed, not permanently destroyed.

To a casual, or superficial observer, this apprehension is not unfounded, because if the white vote of the South divides and the negro vote remains solidly united, the latter race holds the balance of political power. This danger the South has always had to face. The real bond which united her was not of a political nature in the truest acceptation of that term; it was rather a race question. It was whether the negro or the white man should occupy the seat of power; whether the inferior should dominate the superior, and whether ignorance should rule intelligence. When the negro was enfranchised, sympathy and self-protection, two of the strongest motives which influence human conduct, bound the Southern States together for the sole purpose of maintaining, at any cost, Anglo-Saxon ascendency.

No attempt should be made to disguise this fact; no excuse should be offered for it, and no deception should be practised on the public. Deception and evasion are the resorts of the crafty or the cowardly. Honesty in politics, as well as in any other matters, is the best policy; not because it is politic, but because it is right. The world should have been given clearly to understand that the white people of the South, as well as their brothers of the North or the East or the West, always intended to rule, and if there were just cause *now* to believe that the negro would still vote unitedly, and thus menace the South with negro domination, it is safe to assert that these States would remain a "Solid South" to the end of time. History clearly demonstrates this truth, that so long as Anglo-Saxon blood feeds Anglo-Saxon hearts, so long will Anglo-Saxon intellect and Anglo-Saxon will dominate inferior races. We believe, however, that the danger of negro rule now really exists only in the distempered imaginations of political demagogues. No one can produce any array of facts to convince the unbiased observer that the negro vote will be any more united in future elections than the white vote. This race has made wonderful strides in recent years, and they have seized upon every opportunity to better their condition. They have been given the best schools, colleges, and universities, and have not neglected their advantages. Their moral and intellectual improvement has been little less than marvellous. It

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is unprecedented in the history of any people. They are fast becoming qualified to act, to think, and to vote for themselves. The time has passed for them to ever again consent to become the mere tools of unscrupulous and designing office seekers. They carefully and conscientiously study the issues which are involved in every political canvass, and in many instances thoroughly understand them. Their leaders read political economy, and neither the tariff nor the currency question is a stranger to them.

The property interests which are possessed by this race in the South already exceed twelve millions of dollars. They have mastered many trades, become proficient in the industrial arts, and sometimes prominent in the professions. They need not now be told that their welfare is inseparable from the welfare of the South, and the time will soon come, if it has not already arrived, when they will support with their suffrage only those measures which their matured judgment convinces them will most certainly promote the prosperity of the section in which an all-wise Providence has cast their lot. They have come to realize that the people who give them employment, who annually pay twenty millions of dollars taxes that their children may be educated, who make it possible for them to live in comfort and ease, and often in luxury and refinement, who labor side by side with them in the field or in the factory, are their best friends. With returning confidence and affection, they will be influenced as the weak are always influenced by the strong, and they will be found supporting the party which their employers support, because they will learn that the interests of the employer and the employee are one.

These facts are now practically conceded by all who profess to be familiar with the existing conditions in the South. As they become more generally understood the fear of negro domination will be gradually dispelled from the Southern mind, and this bond of common interest and self-defense, which has so long united the "solid South," will become less and less a factor in Southern elections. The color line in politics will disappear, normal political conditions will be re-established, and the people will vote as they did before the war, in accordance with the dictates of conscience or self-interest.

MARION L. DAWSON.

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THE SPECULATION IN DAMAGE CLAIMS FOR PERSONAL INJURIES.

BY E. PARMALEE PRENTICE.

ONE of the most remarkable developments of recent years, a development to which public attention is rarely drawn and which those most interested have naturally endeavored to keep from public view, is the rapid growth of the speculation in damage claims for personal injuries.

This speculation is peculiar to no part of the country, but it thrives most where juries are most liberal and where the courts place least restraint upon them. It is impossible to make any definite comparison in this respect between different portions of the country. For the sake, however, of procuring figures to illustrate the existing situation, and what it promises to become, I have examined the records of the Chicago courts having jurisdiction of these cases and of the courts of appeal throughout the State of Illinois.

The first fact shown from the records of the Chicago courts is that there has been a great increase in the number and size of these suits within the past few years. In 1875 there were altogether about two hundred personal injury suits pending in Cook County. I have not learned the amount of damages claimed in these suits. During the first six months of 1890 the number of these suits brought in Cook County was 346, the total amount of damages claimed being $2,814,860. During the corresponding six months in 1896 the number of such suits begun in Cook County was 893, and the total amount of damages claimed was $13,510,000. It would be reasonable to assume from these figures that there are now pending in Cook County 3,600 of these cases and that the damages claimed are between fifty and sixty millions of dollars.

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So much for the claims which are in suit. Everyone of experience in these matters knows that the first effort of defendants in treating these claims is to compromise if possible. For each claim which is brought to suit it is probable that eight or ten claims are settled without suit. Of course, statistics as to settlements cannot be procured, but we are safe in believing that the figures which we get from the records of the courts, enormous as they are, tell not more than half, and probably only a small part, of the story.

The second conspicuous fact disclosed by the records of the trial courts of Cook County is that there has been a rapid increase in the size of the verdicts rendered. During the first six months of 1890 three verdicts were rendered in the state courts of Cook County of $10,000 or over; the sum of these three verdicts amounted to $35,240. During the first six months of 1896, 26 verdicts were rendered in these courts, each for an amount equal to or exceeding $10,000; the sum of the 26 verdicts amounted to $425,000. The same scale of increase which applies to these large verdicts applies also to the smaller verdicts.

Selecting for purposes of convenience six of the prominent railroad companies entering Chicago, which have most trouble of this sort to meet, we find that in 1890 these companies, taken together, lost but four verdicts, the sum of the four verdicts being $5,550. During the first six months of 1896, the same railroad companies lost sixteen verdicts, the sum of these verdicts being $143,500.

Other figures ilustrating the same tendency are found in the case of the street railways.

In the first six months of 1890, the three most prominent street railways in Chicago, taken together, lost five verdicts, the sum of these verdicts being $10,050. During the first six months of 1896 the same companies lost 28 verdicts, of which the total amount was $124,012.

The figures which have been given sufficiently indicate the general tendencies of juries in the matter of damages. Specific instances, easy to find, testify to the same fact in a manner even more emphatic.

It is not long since a verdict for $10,000 was almost unknown, and when one of the earlier of these verdicts reached

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the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1875, it was promptly reversed. In commenting upon the amount of the judgment, the Court said:

> "Ten thousand dollars is a very large sum of money in the possession of which very few can boast. It is a small fortune which few acquire in a lifetime of incessant labor. This the jury awarded to one whose prospects in life do not extend beyond his wages as a day laborer, and who has not been, by the negligence of the defendants, wholly disabled. It is true the company was at fault, but not so greatly as to aggravate it to wilfulness. Compensatory damages were all the jury were justified in awarding under the evidence. A verdict for $10,000 is so enormous as to justify the inference that the jury were actuated by prejudice and passion, not listening to the dictates of cool judgment."

As matters go to-day, $10,000 is by no means a large verdict. The amounts given by juries in Cook County now run as high as $50,000. Forty thousand dollars has been reached in a number of instances, and verdicts for $30,000 and $20,000 are of frequent occurrence.

The third conspicuous fact that we learn from the records of Cook County is that a personal injury suit is practically indefensible.

For the purpose of getting some figures to show the strength of this well recognized tendency of juries, I have taken all cases which were decided by juries in the courts of Cook County during the first six months of 1896. Altogether, after excluding disagreements and cases which were taken from the jury by the court, we find 117 of these cases actually decided by the jury during the period referred to. Of these cases 100 were decided in favor of the plaintiff. Of cases which lasted one day, there were 26, of which 18 resulted in the plaintiff's favor; 28 cases lasted two days, 26 resulting for the plaintiff; 21 cases lasted three days, 20 resulting for the plaintiff; 13 cases lasted four days, 9 resulting for the plaintiff; 9 cases lasted five days, 8 resulting for the plaintiff; 6 cases lasted seven days, all 6 resulting for the plaintiff; 4 cases lasted nine days, 3 resulting for the plaintiff; 1 case lasted thirteen days, and that also went over to the plaintiff.

What the matter was with the seventeen cases which were decided by the jury in favor of the defendant it would not be difficult to learn. They were doubtless most obvious frauds or they were prosecuted by novices. Of the firms regularly engaged in the business, it is no unfrequent boast that for several years not

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a single case of this nature has been lost. This tendency is so well recognized that an English judge in the case of Toomey *vs.* Railway Company, said :

"Every person who has had any experience in courts of justice knows very wel that a case of this sort against a railway company could only be submitted to the jury with one result."*

This remark was quoted with approval by Judge Sanford, of New York, in Davis *vs.* Railway, and characterized by him as having been wisely and truly made. He further said :

"I deem it of special importance that this rule (that a verdict should be set aside when against the manifest justice of the case) should be observed *in actions for negligence against corporations. . . . . Its more frequent* adoption would substantially promote the cause of justice and tend to suppress, in some degree, the alarming increase in the number of purely speculative litigations which the misplaced sympathy of jurors, or unwholsome dread of responsibility on the part of judges, has done much to foster and encourage."†

So much for the possibilities of defence before a jury. It occasionally happens that a new trial is awarded to a defendant, in which event his chance before a jury is probably as good the second time, as it was the first—no better. It sometimes happens that the trial court will reduce the amount of the verdict, but the relief which is thus obtained is comparatively rare and is only exercised in the most flagrant cases. The verdict of the jury when finally rendered terminates the case.

In the upper courts, the finding of the juries upon the facts is frequently the subject of severe criticism; but notwithstanding this fact, the judgments of the trial courts are affirmed. The rule that the jury alone can be permitted to judge of the preponderance and weight of testimony, is applied in its strictest form; so that if any construction can be put upon the testimony so favorable to the plaintiff that with this construction it can be considered to support a given proposition, the subject must be submitted to the jury for determination, and their finding upon that proposition is regarded as conclusive both in the trial court and in the courts of appeal.

We can see the results of this rule in the Appellate Court, by taking the last five volumes of the reports of that court. In these volumes we find 112 personal injury cases, of which 94

*3 C. B. N. S., 150. †9 J. & S. (N. Y.), 31-35.

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were carried up on the defendants' appeal, while in 18 cases only did the plaintiff appeal. In 8 cases out of the 18 the plaintiff was successful in the Appellate Court, an average of pretty nearly fifty per cent., while the defendant succeeded in 32 cases out of 94, an average of thirty-three per cent. In the Appellate Court of the First District, the District which covers Cook County, there were 54 personal injury suits reported in the five volumes mentioned. Of these cases, 43 were carried into the Appellate Court by the defendant, the plaintiff appealing in 11 cases only. Out of the cases carried up by the plaintiff, five resulted in the plaintiff's favor, while out of the 43 cases carried up by the defendant 23 were affirmed and 14 were reversed.

In the Supreme Court the figures are even worse. Taking the last five volumes of the reports of the Supreme Court of Illinois, we find 31 personal injury cases, of which 29 were appealed by the defendant and only 2 cases were taken up by the plaintiff. Out of these 31 cases, 30 cases were affirmed and 1 was reversed, the defendant being successful in the one reversed case.

To give some idea of the situation in other portions of the country I have examined the last five volumes of the Supreme Court reports of Kansas and Texas, where it has been generally supposed that the personal injury speculation was most successful, and the last five volumes of the reports of the Court of Appeals in New York, which might, perhaps, be taken as fairly representative of other portions of the country.

In the Texas reports examined there are 57 personal injury cases, of which 7 were carried up on the plaintiff's appeal and 50 were carried up on the defendant's appeal. In 24 cases only was the judgment of the lower court sustained, while in 33 cases it was reversed, the defendant procuring a reversal of 31 out of 50 appeals, while the plaintiff procured a reversal in 2 out of 7 appeals.

In the Kansas reports there are 62 personal injury cases, of which 51 were carried up on the defendant's appeal and 11 were carried up on the plaintiff's appeal. The number of affirmances and reversals were equal, 31 cases being affirmed and the same number being reversed. Out of the 51 cases appealed by the defendant there were 24 reversals, while the plaintiff succeeded in 7 out of the 11 cases appealed by him.

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In the reports of the New York Court of Appeals, disregarding the cases in which no opinion was written, and in which for this reason we are unable to determine the matter in suit, there are 27 personal injury cases, of which 22 were appealed by the defendant and 5 by the plaintiff. Eighteen cases were reversed, the defendant being successful in 15 out of the 22 cases, while the plaintiff succeeded in procuring 3 reversals out of 5 cases.

Such figures as these indicate the serious nature of the situation of personal injury litigation all through the country, and show that the condition of things in Chicago is worse than it is even in such States as Kansas and Texas.

The important facts which the figures quoted show are, in the first place, that a claim for personal injuries is practically sure to result in favor of the claimant; in the second place, that the damages given by the jury will be large; and in the third place, that the Appellate and Supreme Courts of Illinois, at least, are far more to be feared by the defendant than by the claimant.

Under such circumstances as these, the cause of the rapid multiplication of these claims and the increase between 1890 and 1896 in the amount demanded and recovered, is apparent. The growth is inevitable, and will continue so long as the present state of affairs continues. It must not be thought in this connection that any adequate explanation of the figures which I have given is to be found in any corresponding showing in vital statistics. It is not true that there are two and a half times as many accidents nowadays in Cook County as there were six years ago, and that each accident is ten times as serious. The explanation is to be found in the methods by which this speculation is carried on.

The prosecution of personal injury suits has grown to be a business by itself. Those engaged in it rarely have any other occupation. There are several corporations and many law firms and brokers in the city of Chicago, as in other cities, doing a speculative business in these claims. They employ "runners" as a commercial house employs travelling salesmen. These runners have business relations with saloon-keepers near manufacturing works or railway crossings, and surgeons and police officers may be found in many parts of the city having their connection with this business. Sooner or later the runners succeed in obtain-

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ing admission to every public hospital in the county. It rarely happens that an accident is mentioned in the newspapers but the unfortunate person who may be injured, or his family in case of his death, is at once overrun with applicants desiring to procure an assignment of the claim. It will be remembered that under a recent decision of the Illinois Supreme Court—a decision which happily the court has again taken under advisement—a personal injury claim is property, capable of being put on the market and transferred from hand to hand, like stock in a corporation. In most cases, the runner who has succeeded in procuring an assignment of the claim has it transferred to some person as trustee. This trustee represents the runner, the saloon-keeper, the hospital nurse, or other person through whom he may have procured the claim, the attorney, surgeons, and other witnesses who may be called upon to testify, and who will, therefore, have a right to share in the proceeds, and, incidentally, the injured person.

Such a system as this is fraudulent throughout, for it is an imposition both upon the plaintiff and upon the defendant.

It is an imposition upon the plaintiff, in the first place, because it offers a direct inducement to the surgeon into whose hands he may have fallen and who is interested in the pecuniary speculation, to aggravate the injury, and what is true of the surgeon, in this respect, is true of all persons who have a money interest in the claim. Let it not be thought, either, that such interest as this is without its effect. In a case with which the writer is familiar, a person who had been injured was treated by the surgeon of the corporation in whose employ he had been. The injury was a serious one. The man was in the company's hospital, and was doing well, when a runner got hold of the injured man's wife and urged a removal from the company's hospital. The surgeons who were in charge of the case stated to the runner and to the woman that the removal would be exceedingly dangerous and probably fatal. The woman, therefore, consented to let the man remain. The runner, however, was not satisfied and very shortly afterward succeeded by his persuasions in bringing the woman back, persisting in the demand for a removal, and finally accomplishing it, with the immediate result feared by the company's surgeons. Cases of murder like this are unusual; but cases where an injured person is attended with a view to testimony and not to treatment are frequent. Unnecessary ampu-

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tations or other operations cannot be proved, but there are persons acquainted with the course of matters who believe that they are not unknown.

The system is also an imposition upon the plaintiff in a pecuniary way. The cases are taken, as has been said, upon a contingent fee, which in most instances amounts to one-half of the recovery, although in some cases the competition between runners results in reducing this fee. The expense to the injured person is, therefore, exorbitant. The most highly paid corporate employment does not offer the fees that are paid by these unfortunate individuals, who, by reason of their misfortune, become a part of a pecuniary speculation.

In the second place, the system is an imposition upon the defendant, for it gives rise to dishonest claims, magnifies injuries, and is the source of much false testimony, both on the part of experts and of so-called witnesses to the facts.

"We cannot shut our eyes," said the Appellate Court of the First District in the Loewe case, "to the situation surrounding us, under which witnesses to most important facts make their sudden appearance just on the eve of the trial of personal injury cases. It is not often that their guise is so transparent as in this case."*

A large number of the claims which are presented are claims which are fictitious throughout. A person physically defective, or capable of counterfeiting physical defect, may be made into a claimant with proper instruction, which interested parties are always ready to give. Such cases are constantly coming to light. It was but a few months ago that a railway company discovered evidence by which it showed that a mother and several daughters had been living upon the proceeds of these claims for a number of years. The list of claims which had been successfully prosecuted by these people is astonishing, and the discovery of the conspiracy was largely accidental.

Another corporation involved in this litigation was presented with a person apparently an idiot, his condition being represented as the result of a blow on the head. The company's attorney took the precaution of having his picture taken. No record of the accident could be found, and after the man had left the attorney's office he could not be found.

* 58 Ill. App., 606-609.

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The picture, however, was sent to all parts of this country and Europe, where information might be expected; detectives were employed in mines in Montana, and in cities on the Atlantic coast, with the final result that the defendant's attorney learned the man's birthplace in Europe, discovered his name upon the army registers, with the record of his physical examination, showing that his condition as a youth had been such as it was when he was presented as a claimant. Correspondence between his confederates was intercepted in Hungary, and finally his original passport was recovered from his family, showing that he had first come to America six months after the date of the accident of which he complained.

Of course no railway or manufacturing firm or corporation can long withstand such assaults as these when they meet with public approval and the support of the courts. A treasury which is open to any adventurer will soon be an empty treasury. And if it be true that neither court nor jury will permit a railway or manufacturing corporation to defend its treasury against such claims, then it is also true that its property is subject to the plunder of every adventurer who sees fit to make a claim, and that its operation cannot continue.

The question whether this enormous and growing evil can be checked is possibly a question of time. It may be that nothing will be done until public attention is drawn to the situation, by some of the larger enterprises being compelled to stop work and grave public inconvenience being thus brought about, but sooner or later, the speculation which has been referred to will lose public support.

The trouble began with the jury, and it is with the jury that we must begin if we are to remove it. The remedy rests with the courts. It is possible for the judges to take as jurors only those men who appear to be able to consider intelligently the questions that will come before them.

It is also possible for the courts to follow the suggestion of Judge Sanford in the case from which we have already quoted, and to see to it that a verdict is set aside when it is against the manifest justice of the case. The more frequent adoption of this rule would substantially "promote the cause of justice and tend to suppress, in some degree, the alarming increase in the number of purely speculative litigations which the misplaced sympathy of

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jurors or unwholesome dread of responsibility on the part of judges has done much to foster and encourage." In recent years the tendency of courts has been in the opposite direction.

There are other incidental matters occurring in the progress of a suit in which it is within the power of the courts to do much toward giving the defendant a fair trial. Among these I shall specify but one, and that is, that the plaintiff should be required to state specifically the charge of negligence which he makes and should then be required to stay by that charge. Under the present practice the effort of plaintiff's attorneys is to make the complaint so vague that the defendant will be unable to preserve the evidence which is necessary for its defence.

Most important of all is it, however, that the public should be informed as to the character of these claims and the methods by which they are prosecuted. When public sympathy is withdrawn from such litigation, as it will be when the situation is once known, the attitude of courts and juries will change.

The system of trial by jury as it is now administered—certainly in Chicago, and probably in many portions of the country—has broken down. The immediate result to Chicago, and to all other places in like condition, must be the cessation of manufacturing and industrial activity, whereas those States where the common law on the subject of negligence is recognized and enforced will be benefited by the change.

E. PARMALEE PRENTICE.

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CAN THE UNITED STATES AFFORD TO FIGHT SPAIN?

BY A FOREIGN NAVAL OFFICER.

A DISCUSSION of such a subject as this by a foreigner is liable to arouse adverse criticism, and I realize that the task is both a difficult and a delicate one. But belonging, as I do, to a nation which has been, and is, the friend of this country, my opinion is given in anything but a hostile spirit.

First then, let us see, what the *status quo* between the United States and Spain is. There is undoubtedly a good deal of animosity on both sides. In the United States the existing sentiment in favor of the Cuban insurgents can be assigned to sentimentality. The mere mention of the word "oppression" acts on the American mind as a spark of fire in a tinder box. In Spain things are different, and it is to be hoped the American people will not deceive themselves in regard to the origi of the animosity on Spain's part. Among the people of Spain the feeling—unfortunately still growing—is that the United States are disposed to meddle officiously with affairs which do not concern them. They remember President Monroe's message defining the Monroe doctrine: "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere."

The most eager Pan-American must, if he stops to think, admit that, from an international point of view, the United States have no grievances whatsoever against Spain. To assert that they have because a few sugar and tobacco merchants have lost money would be absurd. Surely, it is not Spain that has taken the initiative in bringing about the perplexing conditions now existing in Cuba. The wholesale devastation in the rural districts of Cuba was not perpetrated by troops of the mother

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country. It is not Spain that has laid waste the commerce between the United States and the island. As a matter of fact, Spain has lost materially more during the two years of revolution in Cuba than she can recover in ten years, even if she remains, as she undoubtedly will, in possession of the island.

The moving spirit with the insurgent leaders is partly ambition, partly cupidity. Most of them have little to lose and everything to gain. They are doing what the members of the Commune did in Paris during the siege of that city. They fired the first shot, not thinking of the consequences, nor reckoning the result of such a course, and then they burnt, killed, and plundered. I am well aware that, as a body, they do not burn, kill, and plunder maliciously, but they are forced to such courses in order, first, to live, and, secondly, to impress the doubtful and weak ones with their power.

Sympathy is one thing—law another. As matters stand at present, the responsibility for the devastation of the "Pearl of the Antilles" rests not with Spain, but with the insurgents. To quote the Hon. E. J. Phelps:

> "The rebels in Cuba have no organized government and not even an abiding place which they can call their own. They are merely a guerilla force, which would be speedily annihilated if it allowed itself to be drawn into a general engagement with the much superior Spanish army. If this country interferes by arms in that contest it must be by assisting the rebels in Cuba to displace the Spanish government and to set up another. This would be a declaration of war against Spain, a country with which we are and always have been at peace, and from which we have received no injury and no provocation. It would be a gross and utterly unjustifiable violation of international law which no country can afford to perpetrate in the eyes of the world. We cannot afford to go to war with any country at this time unless a war should be forced upon us in self-defence, which would be a grave calamity, of which there is happily no danger."

But though the United States have no real cause to declare war against Spain, it is interesting to speculate on what would happen if, notwithstanding all this, war should be entered upon. If, as Mr. Phelps says, "it would be an utterly unjustifiable violation of international law," all Europe might be morally forced to oppose such a course in order to uphold the sanctity of international law, if for nothing else than self-protection. Equally important is the fact that the interests of nearly all European countries are so closely entwined with the national and material welfare of the United States that a war between this

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nation and Spain would cause a financial panic all the world over.

Approximately the foreign interests in this country represent a capital of more than two billions of dollars. What, then, in comparison to such a sum are the one hundred million dollars which Spain owes France, the sixty millions she owes England, and the thirty-three millions she owes the United States? The course which the official relations between this country and Spain have taken of late seem to indicate that the Administration is wide awake to the gravity of the situation.

As I said before, with regard to Cuba, Spain strictly stands not only on the basis of international law, but also on the basis of her individual rights. There can be no doubt that if she cannot have her laws respected within the limits of her own domain in a peaceful way, she has the legitimate right to enforce them, arms in hand. It is, indeed, hard to conceive from a moral standpoint, how any foreign power could prevent Spain from declaring war, provided the provocation from the United States was such as to justify such a course. By provocation I mean the unlawful fostering (the few filibustering expeditions are of no account) of the insurrection, as by the granting of belligerent rights to the insurgents. Should this happen—and let us hope it will not—Spain would be forced out of self-respect to declare war.

I have now arrived at the most critical point of the situation, and shall endeavor to discuss coolly, and without prejudice, the relative strength of both powers, their relative advantages and disadvantages for attack and for defence, and therefrom to draw a conclusion as to the probable issue of a war. I need hardly say that decisive engagements between the two powers could only take place either on the high seas, or in the stretch of water between Porto Rico and Cuba, or at either of the principal ports of the two islands. The question which above all others is of the greatest importance to Americans is simply whether the United States are at present strong enough to justify them in an embroilment, and, further, whether this country possesses the means of guarding herself against tremendous losses.

What, then, are the existing conditions? A glance at the map shows first, that Spain has a great advantage over this country so far as geographical situation and coast defences are concerned. The opinion seems to prevail in the United States that in order to punish Spain, it is only necessary for the President to order

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the American fleet to that country and to Cuba and Porto Rico, and then besiege her coast, annihilate her commerce, and dictate whatever terms the Administration may choose. Nothing could be more erroneous than this. The coasts of Spain are accessible with difficulty, and are well fortified. On the north and northwest coast, not to speak of the terrible cliffs by which nature aids her defence, Spain has fortified such places of access as Fuenterrabia, Pasages, the military ports of Santona, Santander, Ferrol, Coruña, and Vigo. The coast of the Mediterranean is effectively protected by the fortifications of Palamos, Barcelona, Tarragona, Malaga, Almeria, Carthagena, and Alicante. At the entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar she is protected by the guns of Cadiz, and on the strait itself by those of the fortresses of Tarifa and Algeciras. I ask, then, what opportunity the American fleet could have under such conditions to inflict injury on Spain, operating, as it would be forced to do, from a base over 3,000 miles away?

With regard to Cuba and Porto Rico matters are somewhat different. The United States might succeed in making an attack on a few accessible places in these two islands, but they would first have to wipe the Spanish fleet from the seas. On the other hand, as long as Spanish vessels were afloat, only a few of the twenty-seven principal ports of this country would be absolutely safe from their guns. Owing to the enormous extent of the seaboard of this country the American fleet, with only a very few auxiliary vessels available, could not possibly defend the entire coast.

The above statement is supported by such a recognized authority on the subject as General Miles. He says: "The population in the United States near deep water amounts to six million people living within the reach of high-power guns, mounted on battleships, and there are also ten billion dollars' worth of property in the same condition in the twenty-seven principal ports of our country." Would it not be wiser for the United States to increase their navy and artillery before clamoring for war?

The jingo will reply: "No Spanish vessels could ever come near the coast; they would be destroyed before they could reach our shores." I think I can show, however, that as far as human foresight goes, a thorough defeat of the Spanish fleet by the American fleet would be almost impossible.

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All the vessels worth speaking of, which the United States could bring into action on the Atlantic at present, number twenty-nine, and these figures include the passenger steamers the "Paris," the "New York," the "St. Louis," and the "St. Paul." Only the formidable ones are given in the following list :

BATTLESHIPS :

1.	"Iowa," 11,410 tons' displacement	42	guns
2.	"Indiana," 10,288 tons "	46	"
3.	"Massachusetts," 10,288 tons' displacement	42	"
4.	"Maine," 6,682 " "	30	"
5.	"Texas," 6,315 " "	30	"

Supposed speed from 15 to 17 knots.

COAST DEFENCE VESSELS :

6.	"Puritan," 6,000 tons' displacement	22	guns
7.	"Amphitrite," 3,990 " "	12	"
8.	"Terror," 3,990 " "	10	"
9.	"Miantonomah," 3,390 tons "	9	"

Supposed speed from 10 to 12½ knots.

RAM :

10.	"Katahdin," 2,155 tons' displacement	4	guns

Supposed speed 17 knots.

ARMORED CRUISERS :

11.	"Brooklyn," 9,271 tons' displacement	28	guns
12.	"New York," 8,200 " "	32	"

Supposed speed from 20 to 21 knots.

PROTECTED CRUISERS :

13.	"Columbia," 7,375 tons' displacement	31	guns
14.	"Minneapolis," 7,375 " "	31	"
15.	"Newark," 4,098 " "	28	"

Supposed speed from 17 to 22 knots.

Apart from the above named, there are a few more protected cruisers of the "Newark" type and unprotected ones of the "Montgomery" and "Marblehead" pattern ; one torpedo destroyer, the "Ericsson," and two or three torpedo-boats. This constitutes the whole strength of the American fleet in available men-of-war. Of them only two-thirds could be used for the offensive, while the rest would have to be kept in home waters for the protection of the coast, or, in other words, for the purposes of defence. Spain, on the contrary, could muster into action on the Atlantic about forty-five vessels, including the vessels of the Spanish Trans-Atlantic Company, ten of which could be converted without delay into efficient cruisers.

A comparison between the two fleets shows that the United States fleet, though stronger in powerful battleships and guns does not, from a naval point of view, form a unit, lacking as it does the necessary auxiliary vessels for combat, such as swift gunboats, torpedo destroyers, and torpedo-boats. In other words, the

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composition of her *escadre*, according to modern rules of naval warfare, is faulty. And this is not all. It is an open secret, known to every power abroad, that there is hardly a vessel in the United States navy that carries a full complement of officers and men. A most serious weakness, indeed, in time of war! To imagine that efficient crews can abundantly be drawn from the coast population to man a modern man-of-war is preposterous. The olden times, when a sailor could be turned into a fighting man at short notice, have passed forever. At present, it takes quite a time before even a seafaring man used to the vessels of commerce can be drilled to understand intelligently his duties on board of a modern war vessel. Indeed, I have often found it easier to make an efficient man-of-war's man out of an enthusiastic landlubber than out of a stubborn fisherman.

The Spanish fleet is perfectly homogeneous. Her battleships, while by no means as powerful as the American ones, are swifter and all carry a full complement of officers and men, a complement that, thanks to her system of conscription, can be constantly kept up by drawing on her reserves.

These, however, are not the only advantages Spain would have in a naval encounter with the United States. Her plan undoubtedly would be to protect Porto Rico and Cuba to the best of her ability, and wage a naval guerrilla war on the coasts of the United States, dodging all serious engagements on the high seas except when the advantages were in her favor and her risks limited. With her auxiliary vessels, numerically stronger than those of the United States, she would harass the American ships until both officers and crews would be exhausted by the terrible strain of vigilance and double watches. On the other hand, the officers and crews of the Spanish fleet would by no means be called upon to undergo such exhausting fatigue. They would always be able to find relief, whenever necessary, by falling back on their bases of operation, Porto Rico and Cuba, where they could get all the rest needed to make them efficient again. The enormous coast trade of this country would be annihilated, and some of the Spanish vessels might have a chance to bombard the seacoast towns.

The United States would have to take the offensive and try to crush the Spanish fleet in one single engagement. Whether or not this could be done it is hard to predict. As matters stand the chances are against it. Spain could hardly be expected to

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venture too far away from her base of operations in Porto Rico and Cuba. Consequently, a good, real, old-fashioned sea fight between the opposing fleets on the high seas would not be probable, as it could only be brought on by accident, should the Spaniards be misinformed as to the movements of the American fleet.

For the purposes of an attack on Spain in the West Indies the American fleet would necessarily divide itself into two squadrons, one ostensibly destined for Porto Rico, the other for Cuba. With the exception of a couple of small places, there is little to be attacked in Porto Rico; and as for Cuba, the American fleet would have to confine itself to the destruction of government property and abstain from inflicting injuries on private property. Otherwise the Cubans would have occasion to say: "God save us from our friends!"

During day the American fleet might be able to bombard government property in Havana from the open sea. But what of the night? Then innumerable small craft would slip out of harbor, and, going at a rate of 26 knots, threaten destruction to the ponderous ironclads. The loss of a torpedo-boat means little; the loss of an ironclad means everything. In money it means from three to four million dollars; in time it means from two to three years, and with regard to life it means a hundred to ten.

I have shown that the United States stand no chance of attacking Spain successfully at home, and I think I have also shown that their chances of inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Spaniards in West Indian waters are slight. Spain, before attempting to inflict serious damage upon places on the American coast, would certainly try to cut off the connection between the two American squadrons operating in the West Indies and to attack each separately. Should she succeed in doing this, or be able only to force the American fleet into a position where she could make an attack front and rear in the seas between Cuba and Porto Rico, I cannot see how the American fleet could escape serious injury, if not defeat.

To conclude, then, it is evident that the United States in such a war could do but little lasting damage to Spain, while the latter power, though she would not be able to defeat the United States, could easily inflict losses amounting to many hundred millions of dollars.

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CONSERVATISM OF THE BRITISH DEMOCRACY.

BY W. E. H. LECKY, AUTHOR OF A "HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY."

To those who are old enough to remember England at the time of the first election that followed the great democratic Reform Bill of 1867 few changes can be more extraordinary. That Reform Bill had been carried by a Conservative government, but when in the succeeding year this government went to the country, the disaster that befel it was absolutely overwhelming. A Liberal majority of no less than 128 was returned, and it was then the common talk of politicians that Conservatism in England had manifestly received its death-blow; that the hereditary element in the Legislature must speedily disappear; and that Conservative ministries were in future only likely to exist when the Liberal majority in Parliament was dislocated by internal quarrels and when its leaders found it convenient, until their own differences were adjusted, to place statesmen of another party provisionally in office. Ministries of this kind had been frequent between the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867, but in that long space of time the election won by Sir R. Peel in 1841 was the only one which resulted in a Conservative majority, though on no occasion since the election of 1832 had the Conservative numbers sunk so low or the Liberal majority been so overwhelming as in 1868. Very few men could have believed that an era of great Conservative majorities was soon to open and that the Conservative bark would prove competent to ride upon the waves of the new democracy.

The Irish Home Rule party, however, speedily appeared as a separate group, and it soon dislocated the working of the Parliamentary machine and exercised a powerful influence on the British electorate. At the election of 1874 the Conservatives regained about ninety seats which they had lost in 1868, and they

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came in with a majority of about sixty over Liberals and Home Rulers combined. In the two succeeding elections, however, of 1880 and 1885, their numbers sank even lower than in 1868, though the steady increase in the Home Rule party made the Liberal majority small and precarious. In 1885 the Home Rulers were for the first time able to hold the balance between the two parties, and it was then that Mr. Gladstone took the step which broke up the old organization of parties and began a new era in British politics. No one who was not then living in England, no one who had not followed Irish affairs during the preceding years, can fully realize the astonishment and indignation that passed through English public life when, on the morrow of an election which had been fought by Mr. Gladstone in opposition to the whole Home Rule party, that statesman declared his intention of placing the government of Ireland in the hands of men whom he had so often denounced and so recently imprisoned as conspirators against both property and the empire; as men who, in his own words, were "marching through plunder to the dismemberment of the empire." No one who does not know the full strength of party allegiance in England can realize the force of the shock which detached from the Liberal party such a man as the present Duke of Devonshire, who had been the most devoted and most loyal adherent to Mr. Gladstone; such men as the Duke of Argyll and Lord Selborne, who had during their whole lives been his closest friends; such men as Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, the universally recognized leaders of advanced Radicalism. The defeat of the Home Rule bill in the House of Commons was followed by an election which produced a great revulsion of politics. Three hundred and sixteen Conservatives and seventy-eight Liberal-Unionists were returned, while the Gladstonian Liberals numbered only 190 and the Home Rulers eighty-six. The first two parties combined thus outnumbered their opponents by 118, which, with the exception of the election of 1868, was the largest majority since 1832.

Elections in England nearly always turn on several different issues, but in this case the single issue of the new Irish policy of Mr. Gladstone was before the electors. This was the election which placed the Salisbury government in office for no less than six years. At the same time the situation appeared a very precarious one. With the exception of Mr. Goschen, who,

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in the difficult moment that followed the resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill, consented, with the full assent of his party, to place his admirable financial genius at the service of the government, the Liberal Unionists still held aloof as a separate body with separate organization. They refused office and professed to be only divided on one question from their former party. It was believed in the Liberal ranks that such a situation was untenable; that the rift between Mr. Chamberlain and the party of Lord Salisbury could not be permanently closed; that the new party would soon return to its former allegiance, or that if it did not it would speedily lose its separate existence, its members being absorbed into one or other of the older parties. The position of a party holding great power without either the enjoyment or the responsibility of office, acting in alliance with former opponents and at the same time comprising to a very remarkable degree men who enjoyed in the highest measure the confidence of the country, and had held high offices under the Crown, was a very anomalous one, and it was supposed that it could not last.

The predictions of dissensions between the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists proved signally false. No alliance in English history has ever been more loyal or more successful than that which kept in power the government of Lord Salisbury for six years after the election of 1886. The transcendent importance of maintaining the unity of the empire in the eyes of both sections of his supporters dominated over all other considerations, and the characters of the leaders on both sides contributed powerfully to consolidate the alliance. Of its founders, Mr. Bright has passed away, but three of the men who had done most for its success are still in the forefront of British politics.

The qualities which have placed Mr. Balfour in his present great position are more readily understood by those who are within the circle of his immediate influence than by strangers who judge him from a distance. His intellect, at once clear, bright, subtle, and flexible, seizes with rare quickness the salient arguments of a question; he reasons with admirable lucidity and an almost unfailing tact; and he is always open to new ideas. But he is not an orator. He never moves the passions of men as they were moved by Mr. Gladstone, nor can he rise on a great occasion to the heights of majestic declamation. His speeches are more of the nature of admirable conversation; but his quick-

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ness both in argument and repartee, his light, skilful touch which neither wounds nor irritates, the transparent sincerity of his reasoning which never descends to clap-trap or evasion; his imperturbable temper, his wide sympathies, his uniform courtesy and kindliness towards opponents, his frank, boyish temperament, and his complete freedom from all jealousy, self-assertion, and pretension have combined to make him one of the most successful of politicians. Several of his predecessors have aroused stronger enthusiasm, more passionate devotion; but since the death of Lord Palmerston no leader of the House of Commons has been so popular with all sides of the House. It is a slight but a characteristic fact that no other public man is so often called in token of affection by his Christian name, and it is no exaggeration to say that his rare personal charm has gone far to deprive English politics of its old animosity. It was not always so. There was a time when, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, he was the subject of the most savage and persistent invective, but the manifest and unforced indifference with which he then encountered attacks that would have stung some statesmen to madness clearly showed the elements of strength and even of cynicism that underlie that bright and versatile nature. He soon lived down all unpopularity. Devoting himself skilfully and energetically to opening out the poorest parts of Ireland by the Congested District Board which he founded, he did more than any Irish Secretary of our time for the real benefit of the country; and his enemies or pretended enemies soon desisted from attacks which only elicited from him a little good-humored, half-amused banter, and which were perfectly impotent either to wound, to irritate, or to influence.

With great qualities of a leader, he has some manifest defects. Parliament is a jealous mistress, and Mr. Balfour has many tastes that are wholly unpolitical, and he does not possess the devouring appetite for work and the amazing gift of concentration that distinguished Mr. Gladstone. He is never insincere, but he is not always earnest. There are large tracts of politics in which he takes little interest, and being very susceptible to boredom and by no means patient of routine, he has not shown either the assiduity of attendance, or the knowledge of the forms of the House, or the mastery of details, or (on some questions) the seriousness of purpose of his immediate predecessors. Rely-

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ing too much on his natural quickness, he has made several mistakes, and though his judgment on most questions is sound and moderate he is somewhat apt to catch up too readily new suggestions or to follow on the spur of the moment lines of argument without due consultation with his party. The task of a leader of the House of Commons is always very difficult and in the case of Mr. Balfour it is in some respects peculiarly so. It is not naturally a good thing that a single family connection should exercise a dominating influence over politics, not only filling several offices, but also furnishing the leaders in both Houses. Nor can Mr. Balfour claim among his colleagues the indisputable ascendency which was possessed by Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone. At least three men sit beside him who are fully competent to lead the House, and each of them in some important respects is undoubtedly his superior. It is no slight proof of his personal qualities that under such circumstances his leadership has been universally popular and has excited no tension or jealousy.

The value of the kind of qualities I have described in maintaining a difficult alliance between two long-contending parties can hardly be exaggerated, and the Liberal Unionists have been equally fortunate in their chiefs. To the Duke of Devonshire the breach with Mr. Gladstone probably cost more than to any of his colleagues, for strong personal and party loyalty is one of his most conspicuous qualities. Nothing in his life is more characteristic of him than the readiness with which, when Lord Hartington, he assumed the leadership of the Liberal party when Mr. Gladstone had for a time completely wrecked it and had announced his intention of forever abandoning politics, and the equal readiness with which, without one word of complaint, he relinquished that leadership when the party had been re-formed and when the Eastern question brought Mr. Gladstone again into the arena. For some time before the final breach there must have been much in the policy of the Liberal party with which he could not sympathize; but his devotion to Mr. Gladstone and his intense reluctance to weaken a great political organization kept him steadily at his post. At last the Home Rule question cut the tie, but when once the painful severance was effected it may be confidently said that the long exile from office which followed cost him nothing. Utterly without ambition, one great source of his weight with the country is the well-founded belief that the

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public duties he so assiduously discharges are an uncongenial task, undertaken simply through a sense of duty. A stranger who for the first time hears him speak will be astonished at the influence he has exercised, and will probably moralize on the way in which in England a great title and position can give importance to intellectual mediocrity. It will, however, gradually dawn upon him that this somewhat halting and ungraceful speaker is etching out the real situation with a truer touch, and weighing the opposing arguments in a juster balance, than any of those who preceded him, and he will soon come to understand how it is that the profound belief which moderate men of all parties entertain in the supreme good sense of the Duke of Devonshire, in the clearness, integrity, and moderation of his judgment, have given him a kind of influence which neither Mr. Disraeli, nor Mr. Gladstone, nor Lord Salisbury, with all their gifts and graces, have ever attained. More than one statesman with a total absence of rhetorical brilliancy has played a great part in English politics through the confidence in the soundness and honesty of his judgment which he has inspired. Lord Althorp, in the last generation, and Mr. W. H. Smith, in the present, were conspicuous examples. The Duke of Devonshire has more debating power than either of these, but he belongs essentially to the same type. Of all the losses the Liberal party have undergone in the last few years probably the greatest were those of the late Lord Derby and of the Duke of Devonshire, for they represented more than any other statesmen the qualities of mind and character which win the confidence of the great mass of moderate, educated Englishmen who are not strongly attached to party organizations ; and the future of the Liberal party depends mainly upon the degree in which it can regain the confidence of such men.

Mr. Chamberlain belongs to a type very different from the two statesmen I have described, and in my judgment he has made greater sacrifices than any other public man to the cause of the Union. The trenchant, aggressive radicalism of his early days excited against him the bitterest animosity in the Conservative ranks, though even at that time there may be clearly traced in his radicalism that strong strain of imperialism which distinguished him from many of his colleagues. Nor can he have been wholly in his element among those with whom he seceded. Speaking broadly, the result of the Home Rule schism was to detach the

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Whig element from the Liberal party. Mr. Chamberlain's is certainly not a Whig mind, and in taking the part he did he not only condemned himself to nine years of exclusion from office but also abdicated the indisputable leadership of the advanced Radical wing, and turned most of his former followers into implacable enemies. Nor is his intellect of that kind which can soften transitions by vague words or subtle distinctions. At every period of his career he has expressed his views in the clearest possible language and in the strongest possible form. The admirable directness and simplicity that give his speeches an almost unrivalled force bring out into clear relief any discrepancy in his opinions, and it is idle to deny that on some questions they have been greatly *modified*. *He is, however, as far as possible from a doctrinaire,* and has a strong sense of the proportion of things. On the question of the Union and on its transcendent importance in contemporary politics his opinion was clear and decisive. On some questions, such as the education policy of 1870, and the occupation of Egypt, he has with fuller experience changed his mind, and he has announced the fact with characteristic frankness. Others—especially the connection between Church and State—have gradually faded out of the domain of practical politics. The tendency to stronger government and greater regulation of industry which distinguished him from the Cobden school is not a party question, for it is a tendency which is now equally apparent on both sides of the House, and the rapid acceptance of democratic principles by the Tory party within the last few years has made it not only possible but easy for a sincere democrat to work with it. The party which carried the democratic Reform Bill of 1867, which established a system of thoroughly democratic local government and introduced free education has clearly—for good or ill—thrown in its lot with the democratic tendencies of the age. The question of the franchise is now practically at rest, for scarcely anyone seriously wants it lower than it now is, and the abolition of almost all religious disqualifications and the settlement of the free trade question have removed the old boundaries and landmarks of parties.

All these things made possible a junction which a few years ago would have appeared incredible, and although Mr. Chamberlain was only an independent supporter of the government between 1886 and 1892, there can be no doubt that he exercised

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much influence on its policy. Since the retirement of Mr. Gladstone he has been by very general consent the best speaker in the House of Commons; he has no superior on the platform, and he possesses to the highest degree the rare and useful gift of making speeches which appeal almost as powerfully to the reader as to the listener. His strong will, his swift, clear, decisive judgment, his untiring energy, industry, and tenacity of purpose; his skill and experience in political organization, and the great personal ascendency he exercises over Birmingham and the surrounding counties make him the most powerful of colleagues, and he is eminently endowed with the kind of courage that decides promptly and calmly in emergencies and can if necessary strike new notes and give new impulses in party politics. He has long outgrown the provincial habits of thought of his early years, and few things in English politics are more interesting than to watch his extending influence in quarters where he was once looked upon with detestation. He has done much; he has sacrificed much; and he has also learnt much—in some measure even the art in which he is naturally most deficient, that of sometimes wreathing the sword with myrtle; attenuating differences, and conciliating opponents.

"The English public," Lord Beaconsfield once said, "is like the English housemaid; it likes a change every few years." Since the great extension of the suffrage the number of electors who vote for the two parties alternately, and the consequent probability of a change of government at each election, has greatly increased. In the wear and tear of a long Parliament Lord Salisbury's government lost much of its voting strength, and the election of 1892 again brought the Liberals into power, but by a very different victory from that of the Conservatives in 1885 and of the Liberals in 1868. The election was once more fought under the glamour of the great name of Mr. Gladstone, and the spectacle of a statesman with a splendid past asking, when an old man of more than eighty, and avowedly for the last time, for the votes of his countrymen had an exceptional power over many constituencies. The result was a Gladstonian majority of forty, but it was not English and it was not British. In England there was an overwhelming, in Great Britain there was a considerable, Unionist majority. In the great provincial towns where Liberalism had found its chief strongholds the Unionists largely in-

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creased. The majorities of Mr. Gladstone himself, of his son, and of Mr. John Morley, were significantly diminished. In a great number of English and Scottish constituencies candidates found it advisable absolutely to drop all allusion to Home Rule in their speeches and addresses. The new majority depended wholly on the Irish Nationalists, who were fiercely divided by internal feuds, and who were returned by constituencies which sent to Parliament at least twenty-three more representatives than they were entitled to by their population; by electors among whom, according to an official Parliamentary return, more than one out of every five professed to be unable even to read the name of the candidate on the ballot paper. The desire of the Welsh to disestablish their Church, and much distress and restlessness which existed among the English agricultural laborers, accounted for a great proportion of the Gladstonian gains. The numbers of the Liberal Unionists suddenly dropped by about thirty, and it was inferred that the country did not understand or did not approve of their resolution to abstain from office and continue separate from the Conservative party. The fact that at the next election, when the union between the two sections had been effected, the Liberal Unionists regained nearly all that they had lost, seemed to show that this inference was a correct one.

No worse misfortune could have befallen the Liberal party than the small majority which placed them in office in 1892. Though a great proportion of the moderate and moderating element had been detached from the party, there were still left among its leaders statesmen of eminent experience and ability who, in their own convictions, were as far as possible from being Revolutionists; who clearly saw that the party had made what the French call *fausse route* in adopting the Home Rule policy, and who would have gladly allowed it to disappear silently from their programme and be replaced by some innocuous form of local government in which both parties could concur. No one attributed either to Lord Rosebery or Sir William Harcourt much sympathy with the wilder spirits among their followers, and it is probable that if either of these statesmen had a perfectly free hand the Liberal party would have been soon brought back to a policy in harmony with its old traditions and not undeserving of the confidence of the nation. But the feeble government,

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which had now risen to power, depended on the favor and the coalition of a number of separate groups in which the most violent were the strongest. It was the boast of the Nationalist leader that he held it in the hollow of his hand. Mr. Gladstone retired from politics, and the selection of a leader added seriously to the many elements of dissension that broke up the party. A system of log-rolling of the most cynical character began. Scheme after scheme of the most drastic nature was introduced for the purpose of gratifying particular sections, but without the smallest belief that any of them would become law. There were votes for the establishment of Home Rule in Ireland; for the establishment of Home Rule in Scotland; for the conversion of the British Isles into a Federation; for the abolition of the hereditary element in the House of Lords; for the disestablishment of the Welsh Church; for a new and highly predatory Irish Land Bill. The closure was practised in a manner and with a severity which had never before been known. Every effort was made to obtain some popularity by stimulating class and provincial jealousies, and above all to create an agitation against the House of Lords. Financial legislation in England rests wholly with the House of Commons, and the chief measure of the government was the budget of Sir W. Harcourt establishing the new death duties. It has brought much money into the Treasury, but it has done so by giving a new and powerful impulse to the system of graduated and class taxation, one of the chief dangers to be feared in democracies.

None of these things, however, gave the government even a semblance of popularity, and after a short career in which weakness and violence were strangely mixed it received its death-blow, and the General Election of 1895 followed. Scarcely anyone doubted that the government would be defeated, but scarcely anyone anticipated the magnitude of the disaster. Four Cabinet Ministers lost their seats, and nearly every conspicuous Gladstonian who returned to Parliament did so by greatly reduced majorities. Nearly all the great towns in the kingdom, nearly all the great manufacturing centres, nearly all the chief strongholds of the older Liberalism, returned Unionist members; and a Unionist government presided over by a Conservative statesman of great experience and much solid ability, but of no very dazzling eloquence and of no very extraordinary popu-

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larity, found itself supported by a compact majority of 152, a far larger majority than any other British government has attained since 1832.

There are some features of this singular revulsion that are especially remarkable. One is the increased popularity of the House of Lords. Many influences have contributed to it. No facts have more occupied serious politicians in England of late years than the declining efficiency, and the increased uncertainty, of the action of the House of Commons. No reasonable man can doubt the danger of the enormous power which is in England vested in a simple majority. Chance and strategy and mere caprice will play a large part in their decisions. Many instances might be cited of votes which certainly did not represent the deliberate opinion of the majority of the members which were carried by a skilful combination of groups, by some blended issue in which politicians voted in the same sense through utterly different motives; or as the result of prolonged obstruction, of sittings in the small hours of the morning, of the accidental absence of particular members, or of the mistakes and confusion that inevitably arise when 670 men are called upon at short notice to decide highly complicated and technical questions of which a large proportion of them are necessarily very ignorant. There is also the important fact that under our system of parliamentary government majorities in the House of Commons cannot reject a considerable government measure without either overthrowing the ministry or precipitating a dissolution. Men will often accept an imperfect, or even a bad, measure rather than place the government of the country in hands which they believe to be untrustworthy, and perhaps alter the whole tenor of its policy. The extreme importance, under such circumstances, of a revising and delaying Chamber, and especially of a Chamber which can reject a bill without overthrowing a government, is very evident, and it has never been more felt in England than since the later developments of Gladstonian Radicalism. Whatever may be the demerits of the House of Lords, it has at least saved the country from a policy which the constituencies have twice emphatically condemned, and the denunciations which were so common during the last Parliament of the hereditary legislators who were over-riding the decisions of the elected representatives of the nation, appeared almost ludicrous

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when the election of 1895 showed that during that Parliament the House of Lords had represented much more truly than the House of Commons the real sentiments of the country.

Two other considerations have had much influence. English politicians who desired to see a powerful Upper Chamber established on a purely elective basis have always looked to the United States as furnishing the most successful model of such a chamber. The American Senate has long been regarded with profound reverence in England. It was believed to be the main regulating influence in your Constitution; to be itself wholly free from the taint of corruption and demagogism, and to be the most efficient of all guarantees against dishonest, rash and aggressive policy. Rightly or wrongly, within the last few years this belief has almost disappeared. To a large number of careful English observers the deterioration in the character of the Senate appears to be one of the most evident and most ominous facts in American politics. Whether this impression is true or false, it has had an undoubted effect in increasing the indisposition among serious politicians to any organic change in the character of an Upper Chamber which, though certainly far from ideally perfect, may on the whole be said to work well.

Recent changes in English local government have had a still wider effect. The system of popular election on a low suffrage has nearly everywhere superseded the system of nomination; but the upper classes, instead of abdicating their former influence, have very generally come forward as candidates, and by doing so they have conclusively proved and greatly increased their popularity. No fact in modern English politics is more curious or more unexpected than the immense number of the aristocracy and the more important county landlords who under the new system of democratic election are now holding municipal offices throughout England.

The sons and connections of members of the Upper House have always been among the most popular candidates at Parliamentary elections, and the efficiency of the House of Lords as a legislative body is largely due to the fact that a majority of those who habitually take part in its proceedings have had as young men the experience of popular elections and of life in the House of Commons. It may be doubted, however, whether there has ever been a Parliament since the abolition of the nomination

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boroughs in which this class was more largely represented than in the present. This has been one of the results of an election in which the chief radical election cry was a denunciation of the hereditary legislators. Among other effects it has greatly increased the number of young men in the House of Commons, a fact which is the more striking as one of the first results of the democratic Reform Bill of 1867 was to raise the average of age. "As I looked down upon that Parliament from the gallery," an old Parliamentary official once said to me, describing the first House of Commons after the Reform Bill, "there were so many bald heads it was like looking on a field of turnips." Mr. Gladstone, a few years ago, was accustomed to deplore as the most melancholy fact in modern English politics the increasing difficulty which young men found in entering into the House of Commons. For the present this tendency is arrested. "The youngest and best dressed House of our time" was the description given of the Parliament now sitting by one of the most important members in the preceding one.

This fact is a very encouraging one, for nothing is more certain than that the House of Commons is a body in which, with the rarest possible exceptions, men never really succeed who have not entered early and gone through a long period of apprenticeship. A man of mature years, whose life has been spent in other pursuits, if he enters the House, will no doubt himself learn much, and he may still hope to be of some use; but he need never expect to play a leading part in parliamentary life.

Another fact which is very conspicuous in the last few years has been the steady movement of the British working classes, and especially of the working classes of the towns, in the direction of Conservatism, or at least of Unionism. Something of this is no doubt due to a conviction among them that on the question which produced the schism of 1885 the Gladstonian party was in the wrong. The skilled artisans of England are shrewd judges of politics, and on this question they have had the ablest of guides. No two politicians have enjoyed their confidence more fully than Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, and no two men have carried the art of clear, popular, and cogent political reasoning to a higher perfection. But beyond this special cause there are larger influences at work, some of them common to all highly civilized countries and some of them especially English. To the

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first class belongs the enormous increase during the present generation of working-class savings and working-class investments. The eminently wise legislation by which the state has encouraged thrift and placed the credit of the state at the service of those who have small savings to invest, and the great expansion both of the joint stock system and of co-operative industry have immensely widened the basis of property; placed a vast proportion of the capital of the world in the hands of the working classes, and attached their interests more visibly and more closely than at any former period to the interests of the state. Property in a democracy is only safe when it is very widely diffused, and in this diffusion lies one of the great elements of working-class Conservatism.

These causes, however, though very powerful, are insufficient to account for the extraordinary contrast between the strong Conservative sentiment prevailing in London and in the great provincial towns of Great Britain and the extreme Radicalism, the aggressive Socialism of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and nearly all the great manufacturing and working-class centres on the Continent. In France, Germany, and Belgium socialism, under a low suffrage, has become one of the most formidable of parliamentary forces. In Great Britain, the socialistic ideas which are so widely spread may be clearly traced in some branches of government legislation, especially in the land laws of Ireland, and in much of the reasoning in Parliament; but, in spite of active propagandism, socialism, as a distinct party force, can hardly be said to exist in the House of Commons, and nothing in the last election was more remarkable than its almost invariable failure at the polls. It is impossible to resist the inference that the great body of the working classes are essentially content with the form of government and the character of the legislation under which they live; and this fact furnishes the strongest argument in favor of the free trade policy which England, in contrast to all the other great nations, has steadily maintained. The preponderance against this policy, both among the empires and the democracies of the world, is indeed now so great that it needs all the confidence of the British people in their own opinion to persist in it, and, it must be owned that, even in England, its ascendency is not now as uncontested as it once was. Few persons who know the deplorable condition into which English agriculture has sunk

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will maintain that in this department, at least, it has been a success. One very manifest form of protection, the restriction and legal regulation of labor, has grown rapidly in British legislation and still more rapidly in British working-class opinion. The number, also, has increased of those who believe that, although free trade is for the benefit of a great manufacturing and commercial country, it by no means follows that it is suitable for all countries and for all stages of industry, and who also believe that, even where it has been most beneficial, it has sometimes been pushed to an exaggerated and pedantic point, and to the sacrifice of other interests not less really important. The idea which has been lately launched of a closer commercial union between different portions of the empire, based upon differential duties against foreign products, is probably still far from realization, but it has grown and it is likely to grow.

But when all these deductions and qualifications have been made there is an unaltered conviction in England that the fiscal policy based upon free trade, in its broad outlines, has been proved by experience to have been extremely conducive to the prosperity of the nation and especially favorable to the working classes. Nearly all European nations have in the present generation increased their debts with appalling rapidity, but Great Britain since the Crimean War has paid off nearly two hundred millions of pounds of her debt. She has paid off one hundred millions within the last thirteen years. She has paid off more than eight millions in the year that has just terminated. Her credit stands higher than it has ever before done, and higher than that of any other country. In spite of partial and severe trade depressions, every test of national prosperity indicates a high standard and steady progress of well being. Taxation, it is true, has immensely increased. The expenditure of the country has doubled within fifty years, and the influences which have converted Europe into an armed camp have rendered absolutely necessary military and, still more, naval expenditure far exceeding anything before known in times of peace. In the present year the navy estimates are more than double what they were in 1875, but in spite of this increase under the influence of the free-trade policy nearly all the articles of first necessity to the working class have been freed from taxation. Tea, coffee, tobacco, beer, and alcohol are indeed now the only articles of their habitual expenditure which

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are liable to duty. During very many years of rapidly increasing expenditure no addition has been made to the small list of articles of great consumption which are taxed, and, with the exception of beer, wine, and spirits, the taxation on none of these articles has been increased since 1873. The income tax, which is our chief direct tax, leaves untouched the wages of the working classes; for incomes below £200 a year are exempted, while several large departments of expenditure for their benefit have of late years been undertaken by the state. When we add to these things that the British working classes are exempt from the military conscription which weighs so heavily on the industry of the continent; that the franchise has long been extended to them; and that their trade unions have been fully recognized and protected, it will not appear surprising that their desire for organic change has greatly gone down, and that the appeals to class jealousies, discontents, antagonisms, or cupidities, which have of late years been so lamentably prominent in the Radical party, have met with little response. International congresses and associations have in the present generation been the chief agents in spreading socialistic and anarchical teaching, but they have also had another effect. The increased knowledge that English workmen have acquired of the conditions of labor in other countries has certainly not tended to make them discontented with their own lot; nor has a further acquaintance greatly impressed them with the wisdom or feasibility of Continental Socialism. The legal limitation of hours of work; the employment of women in factories; the restriction of alien immigration; and the better provision for old age, are the class questions which now specially interest them; but there is nothing in the principles of the Unionist party to make it less competent or less willing to deal with such questions than its rival. The factory laws, indeed, are much more due to Tory than to Liberal initiative, and the question of old-age pensions has derived its chief importance in England from the adhesion of Mr. Chamberlain.

The Imperialist sentiment has also, I think, manifestly strengthened among the working classes in England, and it has been much stimulated by the protectionist policy which is doing so much to exclude our goods from foreign countries. We are coming more and more to derive our supplies from our own dominions and to look upon our own dominions as the chief per-

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manent and assured markets for our manufactures. Among the recent trade movements described by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget speech, two of the most remarkable were the almost complete displacement of foreign spirits by British and Irish spirits in the home market, and the rapid transfer of our tea trade from China to India and Ceylon.

Cobden's dream of a free-trade world in which for all industrial purposes, political divisions were immaterial has vanished, and the supreme importance of maintaining, protecting, and developing the distant portions of an extended empire as an outlet of British trade is far more clearly felt. It would be a gross calumny to attribute what is called the "Little England policy" to the whole Liberal party. No English statesmen in the past have ever been further from it than Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston; and in this respect they have found no unworthy successor in Lord Rosebery. But the class of mind which is most enthusiastic about Home Rule is also the class of mind which has always been especially inclined to this policy, and the events of late years have given it a much increased influence in the Radical opposition.

No one who observes the constant fluctuation in English politics and the many mistakes, mischances, and dangers that invariably gather around a government which has been for a few years in power will imagine that the present enormous disproportion of parties in England can be permanent. All that can be confidently said is that the present ministry will be very unskilful or very unfortunate if it does not last through a long Parliament, and that it has a better chance than any of its recent predecessors of outliving an election.*

W. E. H. LECKY.

* The publication of this article, which was written at the close of last session of Parliament, has been unavoidably delayed.—ED. N. A. R.

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SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS FUTURE.

BY JOHN HAYS HAMMOND.

It may be said that the attention of the rest of the world has been attracted to South Africa, not less on account of its recent adversity, than by reason of its unparalleled prosperity.

The disasters of the rinderpest, the Kafir outbreak, the locust plague, and the political revolution have made the year 1896 memorable in the annals of South Africa. With undiminished vigor, however, it is believed that she now enters upon an auspicious era.

To Americans it is a country of especial interest, as its chief industry is to a large extent conducted by American engineers, the development of the most important gold-mining properties of the Rand and Rhodesia, and of the diamond mines at Kimberley being under their direction. Moreover, Americans have been greatly benefited by the extensive purchases of machinery by the South Africa companies, and by the good markets provided for other classes of American goods as well.

The term "South Africa" designates that part of Africa extending southward from the Zambesi River (latitude 17 degrees, south) to Cape L'Agulhas, the southernmost promontory of the continent (latitude 34 degrees, 40 minutes, south). It embraces German West Africa; the Portuguese territories under the administration of the Mozambique Company; Rhodesia, south of the Zambesi, under the administration of the British South Africa (Chartered) Company; the republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State; the British Crown Colonies of the Cape, Natal, Zululand, and Basutoland. and the British Protectorates of Bechuanaland and Amatongaland. It somewhat exceeds one-third the size of the United States, exclusive of Alaska. Considerably over one-half of the country is composed of British

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possessions. South Africa lies in the same zone as Brazil and Australia, and in the northern hemisphere has its latitudinal analogue in Mexico.

The coast line of South Africa is about 3,500 miles in length, and has remarkably few indentations. The harbors at present utilized are Walfish Bay, which is an enclave of Cape Colony in German Northwest Africa; Table Bay (Cape Town), Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth), East London, Durban, Delagoa Bay, and Beira. Excepting Walfish Bay, these harbors are all connected by railway with the interior of the country. The total mileage of railways in South Africa is about 4,000, but construction is proceeding apace into the interior, and this total will be considerably increased within the next few years.

South Africa has a heterogeneous population of about five million, of which over six hundred and fifty thousand are whites, English and Dutch* preponderating.

In the Cape Colony, those of Dutch extraction slightly exceed those of English descent, and in the Orange Free State the Dutch considerably outnumber the English. In the South African Republic, Natal and Rhodesia, on the contrary those of English descent are numerically greater than any other nationality. The Dutch, it is true, have been the pioneers or *voortrekers* in many parts of the country; but their settlement has been made in many instances, at least, only possible through the assistance given by Great Britain in suppressing the revolution of the Kafirs, with whom the pioneers came into conflict. It is to the unique colonizing capacity of Great Britain that South Africa owes the important position that she to-day holds.

Of the native population the bulk belongs to the Bantu family, which occupies all of Central and South Africa, and forms the great reservoir from which the manual labor of South Africa is drawn. The members of this family are generally designated "Natives" or "Kafirs." The term Kafir is of Arabic origin, meaning infidel, and was indiscriminately applied by the Arabs to all non-Moslem people. The Kafirs are the negroes of South Africa, though they have characteristic differences from the negroes of the West Coast of Africa, whence came our American negroes. The Bantu tribes are not aborigines, having come

*Those of Holland descent are called Dutch, while those born in Holland are termed Hollanders.

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from Northern Africa. It is a remarkably prolific race, the numbers of which are increasing with great rapidity. Of far less importance numerically are the Bushmen, the true autochthons, but now the social pariahs of the whole continent.

The interior of South Africa was originally sparsely populated by these pigmy Bushmen tribes, which have resisted all attempts at civilization, preserving their nomadic instincts, and still approximating to the lowest known species of humanity.

The Hottentots, another tribe, which had located in South Africa anterior to the advent of the whites, though possessing some resemblance to the Bushmen, have radical ethnological differences. These people have occupied chiefly portions of the Cape Colony, not far from the sea coast, but there has never been a well-defined geographical boundary between the Bushmen and the Hottentot, their habitat frequently overlapping. The Hottentots, though evincing more receptivity, have been but inconsiderably affected by the civilizing influence of their environment, and may with the Bushmen be set down as unimportant, and indeed rapidly vanishing, factors in South Africa's future.

In its physical geography, South Africa is exceedingly diversified. The interior of the country consists of high plateaux, culminating in the table-lands of the Transvaal (South African Republic), whence the ground falls away in gentle undulations northward to the Zambesi River.

The high plateaux, from three to six thousand feet in elevation above sea level are, for the most part, treeless, or at best contain but a sparse growth of timber, usually of a dwarfed character. From the plateaux the ground does not descend with uniformity seaward, but reaches the coast by a series of terraces or steps. The mountain ranges which trend parallel to the coast line, from which they are distant one to one hundred and fifty miles, are in reality the broken seaward edges or escarpment of the high interior table-land.

In its hydrography, South Africa is simple, the most important rivers of the country being the Zambesi, which forms its northern boundary, and empties into the Indian Ocean opposite Madagascar, one thousand miles north of Cape L'Agulhas; the Limpopo or Crocodile River, which forms the boundary between Rhodesia and the South African Republic (Transvaal), emptying likewise into the Indian Ocean; the Vaal River, a tributary of

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the Orange River, forming the southern boundary between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State; and the Orange River, which is conterminous with the boundaries of the Orange Free State, the Cape Colony, and German Western Africa, emptying into the Atlantic Ocean.

With the exception of the Zambesi, which at certain favorable seasons admits vessels of light draught as far as Tete—a distance of about 240 miles from the coast—none of these rivers is navigable.

South Africa is singularly destitute of large inland lakes, in which respect it differs strikingly from Central Asia—eminently a country of great lakes, inferior in this respect only to the United States of America.

As may be inferred from its variety in altitude and latitude, South Africa has an unusually diversified climate. It may be said, however, that the isotherms of the country are determined more by reason of altitude than by latitude, the climate being, broadly speaking, warm and moist along the coast and dry and cool upon the high plateaux of the interior. Sunstroke is of but rare occurrence, and there are but few places in the country, and these, indeed, entirely confined to the northern coastal belt, where the heat is comparable to many parts of our Western America.

Within the northern coastal belt, and also in some parts of the low lying districts of the interior, malarial fever is endemic, being especially severe during the rainy season, but it is rarely of very malignant type. More or less cognate sickness is elsewhere prevalent, ascribable rather to the unhealthy conditions incidental to the development of new countries than to climatic causes. Upon the whole, it may be stated that the climate of the high lying plateaux is remarkably salubrious, and undoubtedly conducive to the physical development of a vigorous race. The therapeutic properties of the dry elevated region are recognized in the treatment of pulmonary complaints. In South Africa there are a rainy and a dry season; the northern and eastern portions having rain during the summer season (from October to April), while the rest of the year forms the dry and winter season. In the southwestern portions of South Africa, however, the seasons are reversed, the rain falling in the winter months from April to September, the months from January to

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April being usually dry. In the desert regions the annual rainfall is from two to eight inches, while in the more favored portions of the country the precipitation is as much as forty inches. The rains are more or less torrential in character. Spring and autumn are not generally well defined, though in some parts of the country, the four seasons of our northern hemisphere can be more or less differentiated. Snow rarely falls except upon the mountain ranges, and there is no perpetual snow line.

In its landscape, the interior recalls our western plains, the country being undulating and having its scenic monotony relieved only by occasional table-shaped and conical mountains, but there are in the mountainous districts many most picturesque spots, though of very limited extent and not possessing the grandeur of Western America.

Many parts of the country are fairly well watered, but the proper development of its agricultural resources, speaking generally, necessitates the conservation of water and artificial irrigation. It should be stated, however, that upon the eastern coastal belt and the high lands of the Transvaal and Basutoland, the summer crop of mealies (maize), which constitutes the staple food of the native population, is treated without irrigation.

Corresponding with the variety of climatic features, we find great diversity in the agricultural and pastoral resources of the country. Tropical fruits, sugar cane, tea, etc., are grown abundantly upon the coast lands, while upon the elevated plateaux, and in certain portions of the Cape Colony as well, all northern cereals are extensively raised. The pastoral industry is one of importance; in fact, for many years prior to the inauguration of mining, the country subsisted practically upon the wool exported. Sheep, goats, cattle, horses, ostriches, etc., are extensively reared. One of the most serious disasters to the pastoral industry of South Africa is the rinderpest, at present epidemic in the northern portions of the country. There seems but little doubt that it will spread through the southern portion as well, and will decimate the cattle of all South Africa.

There is but little first-class timber in the country, the indigenous timber of the east coast being heavy and hard, and therefore, handicapped as it is by inaccesibility, not economically available. Upon the southeastern coast there are government plantations, but the supply is limited, and the quality inferior.

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For many years to come, the lumber will continue to be imported, the source of supply at present being the western coast of North America and Australia.

While there is little doubt that with proper development of its agricultural and pastoral resources South Africa could be made practically self-supporting, the successful development of these industries depends, nevertheless, upon the creation of local markets through the stimulus given by mining operations.

Whatever may contribute to the extension of the commerce and trade of South Africa, the immediate future of the country is dependent primarily upon the development of its mineral resources. Probably no other event has so impressed this fact upon the minds of the people of the country at large as the dire straits to which they have been reduced by the rinderpest epidemic.

Indeed, upon two previous memorable occasions, South Africa has been saved from industrial disaster by the stimulus given to trade through the development of the diamond industry in the one instance, and the development of the gold industry in the other. The *Deus ex machinâ* to again save the country will be the expansion of the mineral industry.

With the exception of mining of gold, diamonds, and coal, there have been no considerable exploitations of its mineral resources. Coal fortunately exists in many parts of the country, and it has been estimated that the known coal fields represent an area of 56,000 square miles, which is equal in extent to the State of Iowa. There exist in some parts of the country large deposits of iron contiguous to the coal fields, but, as yet, the economic conditions have not favored the development of that industry. Lead, silver, cinnabar, tin, and other metals are also found in many parts of the country, but have not been remuneratively worked.

Among the mining countries of South Africa, the Transvaal is *facile princeps*, and is in all probability destined to maintain its paramount position; though, as is well known, South Africa is "a country of surprises," and it is possible, of course, though not probable, that within its great extent other equally important districts may be discovered.

The South African Republic (Transvaal) comprises an area of 119,000 square miles, somewhat in excess of the combined areas of our six New England States and the State of New York inclusive. From the value of its mineral resources, it is to-day un-

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doubtedly the pivot commercially and politically of South Africa. Politically the Transvaal is under the nominal suzerainty of Great Britain, acknowledging Great Britain as the paramount power in South Africa, with the right to veto all foreign treaties which it proposes. It has no seaport, in which respect it is seriously handicapped, being hemmed in by the Portuguese territory and English colonies. The white population is about 160,000, of whom 80,000 are *Uitlanders* (unfranchised whites), an unusually large percentage being adult males. The negro (Kafir) population exceeds half a million.

Until the year 1868, gold mining was, for political reasons, proscribed within the boundaries of the South African Republic. Impelled by the increasing poverty of the state, President Pretorius succeeded in effecting a repeal of the laws against prospecting, and, indeed, offered rewards for the discovery of payable gold deposits. As the result of this beneficial legislation, prospecting led to the discovery of gold within a short time in various parts of the Transvaal. Various discoveries were made in Klein Letabab in 1869, and Murchison Range in 1870. Other gold fields were discovered and proclaimed during the next few years, but it was not until 1885 that the deposits of the Witwatersrand District were found. The proclamation of these fields led to the rush that always attends the discovery of gold deposits, and by the magic touch of gold what was hitherto practically a barren stretch of *veld* has been transformed into the scene of great industrial activity. The township of Johannesburg was marked off at the end of the year 1886. The first reduction works of any size were erected in 1887.

Coal was discovered near Johannesburg in December, 1887, and it is to the juxtaposition of coal areas that the success of the gold-mining industry of the country is to be ascribed. During the year 1887, 23,000 ounces of gold were exported from the Witwatersrand District.

The total output to the end of 1895 from the Witwatersrand District was 8,858,000 ounces, of a value of $144,000,000. During this period the De Kaap, Klerksdorp, Heidelberg and Potchefstroom, Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg districts have contributed 909,000 ounces, having a value of $14,700,000, making a grand total of 9,767,000 ounces of gold from the Transvaal, with a total value of $158,750,000.

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By far the most important mining district in the Transvaal is that of the Witwatersrand, or White Waters Range. This range forms the water-shed of the country, its altitude being from 4,200 feet to 6,000 feet above sea level. There are but few indigenous trees in the district, but forests of eucalyptus and acacias have been planted, and have developed with remarkable rapidity, the soil being very fertile. There are now numerous forests of these trees in the vicinity of Johannesburg.

The census taken in July, 1896, shows a population within an area of three miles from the centre of Johannesburg to be 50,000 whites and 42,000 Kafirs. The Asiatics and Malays number about 6,000. These figures do not, of course, include the great number of white men living in the vicinity of the mines, which are for the most part without the three-mile radius.

There are at present over 9,000 white employees at the mines, receiving wages amounting to annually over $9,000,000, and 70,000 Kafirs, receiving in annual wages nearly $12,500,000. There are, accordingly, about $20,000,000 annually paid out to the employees upon the mining properties of the district. Added to this, a large sum, probably equal to $3,000,000, is paid to others directly connected with the mining industry.

As will be seen, the present output is to a great extent absorbed by the payment of wages, but it must be observed that a large part of the present expenditure is in connection with the development of properties not yet upon a producing basis.

The climate of the Witwatersrand is exceedingly fine and exhilarating, though the mortality is great, having been during the past few months as much as fifty-eight per thousand. This is due to the inadequate supply and the bad quality of the drinking water, to defective sanitation, and to the appalling hygienic conditions generally prevalent.

In the Witwatersrand, and the neighboring districts of Heidelberg, Potchefstroom, and Klerksdorp, the gold occurs in a series of parallel beds of conglomerates known locally as "banket" reefs, so called on account of its similarity to the Dutch confection, "almond rock." These beds can be followed more or less continuously about forty-six miles to the east and west of Johannesburg.

The mineralization is remarkably extensive throughout the main reef series over a stretch of 46 miles, but gold by no means

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exists continuously in payable quantities over that extent, the pay-ore being found in irregular-shaped zones (patches), less frequently occurring, however, in well-defined pay-shoots similar to those characteristic of quartz veins.

Geological evidence strongly indicates the permanency of these deposits to a depth far beyond the zone of feasible mining operations.

Actual mining developments upon the deep level areas, supplemented in turn by the results of deep borehole explorations, confirm the theories advanced by the geologists and justify the predictions that the life of the Witwatersrand District, from a mining point of view, is a long one; how long, though, it is impossible to accurately predict, having at present the indeterminate factors of the possible depth to which mining operations can be prosecuted, and of the rate of future annual exploitation.

To speak of the illimitable ore deposits is, of course, hyperbole, but it will certainly take three decades, perhaps more, to exhaust the deposits of the central section to the depth to which mining operations are now considered practicable. The inevitable reduction of costs of future mining and the discovery of other payable deposits would undoubtedly tend to increase the longevity of the district. On the other hand, it is obvious that, if the developments of the lower areas should proceed more or less concurrently with, and not as the sequel of, the exploitations of the upper horizons, the life of the district will be correspondingly shortened.

It has been computed by well-known engineers that the central section of the Witwatersrand District, embracing an extent of 11½ miles along the course of the reef, should produce up to a vertical depth of 5,000 feet over $2,000,000,000; the estimate of Mr. Hamilton Smith for this section of the Rand up to a vertical depth of 3,000 feet, $1,625,000,000, and that of Bergrath Schmeisser is somewhat in excess of Mr. Smith's estimate.

The estimated yield of the 27 miles, including the 11½ miles referred to, is, according to Messrs. Hatch and Chalmers, nearly $3,000,000,000. The magnitude of this output of gold will be realized when compared with the entire output of the auriferous gravel and quartz veins of California up to the end of 1896, which may be roughly put at $1,282,000,000; more than three-quarters of this amount having, as previously stated, come from the now

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exhausted shallow gravel mines. The present value of the world's gold output is $218,500,000, according to the *Engineering and Mining Journal* of January 2, 1897. The contribution of the Witwatersrand District will therefore be a very important augmentation.

The output from the Witwatersrand for 1896 is 2,276,000 ounces, having a value of about $37,000,000. This represents about 16 per cent. of the annual output of the world, and comes from a radius of 25 miles from Johannesburg.

During the next few years, there will undoubtedly be an important progressive increase in the gold yield from the Witwatersrand District, and there is every reason to expect that within a few years the yield of gold will equal $100,000,000 per annum.

To the north of the Transvaal lies the British South Africa Chartered Company's territory, known as Rhodesia, including Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and Northern Zambesia. In that region there are many miles of gold-bearing reefs, some of which are undoubtedly the scene of ancient mining operations. In fact, some archæologists are of the opinion that within this territory were situated the famous mines of Ophir. At all events, there remain to-day conclusive evidences of prehistoric mining in many parts of the country, and the magnitude of these operations is evidenced by the extensive ruins of ancient temples, dedicated to the worship of Baal, and which were undoubtedly connected with the mining operations carried on in the country at that time. Among the relics from the famous Zambesi temple, which is probably of Phœnician or Sabean origin, were found many articles associated with gold mining, among which are ingots, crucibles, gold beads, etc. The ingot moulds are of a pattern identical with that used by the Phœnicians in their tin-mining operations in England.

During the past few years mining has been revived in Rhodesia, but owing to the inaccessibility of the country, to the recent native outbreak, to the rinderpest, which has destroyed the means of transport, and to other obstacles, no definite results have as yet been obtained. The advent of the two lines of railway at present being energetically pushed on, the one from Cape Town northward into the western portion of the country, the other from the port of Beira into the eastern portion of the country, will facilitate mining developments, the result of which, it is be-

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lieved, will be the discovery and development of payable mines. This would, in turn, stimulate the development of the other resources of the country, with the result that Rhodesia would eventually become the home of an important white population.

The topographical features of the country are such as to preclude the existence of any auriferous alluvians or placer deposits of importance; consequently Rhodesia will not be what is known among miners as "a poor man's country." Nevertheless, Rhodesia will undoubtedly attract American engineers, miners, and artisans, but they should secure definite employment before emigrating from America, if dependent upon employment for subsistence. To the "shrewd Yankee" of other vocations as well, the country would offer inducements, should its prosperity be established.

From a mining point of view Cape Colony is of chief importance in possessing the most extensive diamond mines in the world. The first diamonds were discovered in 1865, in territory which at that time belonged to the Orange Free State, but which was subsequently acquired through purchase, and incorporated in the Cape Colony. There were no extensive diamond workings, however, until the discovery of the Kimberley District in 1870.

Kimberley is situated in the northern part of Cape Colony, being connected with Cape Town by rail, a distance of 647 miles. There have been produced upwards of twelve tons of diamonds, representing a value of $100,000,000. The present annual rate of production is about two and a half million carats, having a value of $20,000,000. The magnitude of the mining operations carried on in Kimberley will be realized when it is stated that there are upwards of three thousand white men and ten thousand natives employed in the Kimberley District, and that about $8,000,000 are expended annually for wages, material, etc.

Copper ore is also being mined in the Cape Colony, the present annual export being about 30,000 tons of ore, containing approximately 8,000 tons of copper. This industry is also said to be capable of future expansion. Gold mining has not yet been successfully prosecuted in the Cape, but there are undoubtedly numerous gold-bearing quartz veins, some of which it is believed may ultimately be profitably developed.

Situated on the northwestern portion of South Africa, and

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bordering upon the Atlantic Ocean, is the territory of German West Africa. Relatively, this country is not of much importance, being for the most part arid, and consequently not capable of supporting an agricultural population. But little is as yet known of its mineral resources.

Bordering upon the Indian Ocean in the northeastern part of South Africa lies the Portuguese territory, the development of which is greatly impeded by the unhealthy character of its climate, and in hardly less degree also by the tsetse fly with which the country is everywhere infested. This scourge is a serious obstacle to the development of certain low lying portions of Rhodesia as well. It resembles in appearance the ordinary house fly. Its bite, while invariably fatal to domestic animals, is strangely enough innocuous to man and to the wild game as well, among which indeed it has its habitat.

The present importance of the Portuguese territories is undoubtedly due to its two harbors of Delagoa Bay and Beira. The former is the finest natural harbor upon the South African coast, and over this harbor England holds pre-emptive rights. Delagoa Bay is connected with Johannesburg by a railway, 396 miles in length. Beira, which is the natural port of entry to Rhodesia, is situated at the mouth of the Pungwe River, about 250 miles north of Delagoa Bay. From this port a railway is being constructed to Salisbury, the capital of Mashonaland, a distance of 389 miles. This road has already passed beyond the Fly-country, and should be completed to Salisbury in about two years.

The colony of Natal derives its name from the fact that it was discovered on Christmas Day, 1497, by the Portuguese navigator Vasco de Gama. The first European settlement was made by Englishmen at Durban in 1824. Natal has an area of 20,000 square miles. The population consists of some 450,000 Zulu Kafirs, 47,000 whites, and 41,000 Indian coolies. The country rises from the sea by a series of terraces. It has a tropical climate on the coast region, whence come the tropical products supplied to the Transvaal and the other interior countries of South Africa. In the uplands sheep are extensively reared. The mineral resources, with the exception of its coal fields, which are extensive, have been but little exploited.

To the west of Natal is the little independent Republic of

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the Orange Free State. Its form of government is modelled after that of the United States of America. The white population number about 100,000, the majority of whom are Dutch, who, through the operation of the liberal laws of the land, live in perfect accord with their English confrères.

The Kafir population belong to the Basuto and Baralonga branch of the Bantu family, and number about 120,000. The country has an extensive table-land covering an area of nearly 70,000 square miles, and situated at an altitude from 4,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level. Its natural resources are chiefly pastoral and agricultural. Coal and other metals occur, but have not been remuneratively worked as yet.

On the southwestern border of the Orange Free State is the British Crown Colony of Basutoland, having an estimated area of about 10,000 square miles. From its mountainous character it is called the Switzerland of South Africa. It lies about 6,000 feet above sea level and is a succession of hills and valleys covered with grass, watered by innumerable streams and fountains.

Its capability as a wheat-producing country is unsurpassed, but the emigration of whites is not encouraged by the government, there being at present not more than 500 in the country. The Basutos number over 150,000, and, it is stated, have at least 15,000 well-armed soldiers, the presence and the warlike disposition of whom are a constant menace to the security of the neighboring States, and to the Orange Free State in particular.

To the north of Natal, bordering on the Indian Ocean, is Zululand, being about the same size, and containing nearly the same population, as Basutoland. Gold mining upon a small scale is carried on, and other metals exist, though, as yet, they have not been worked. The coastal belt is sparsely inhabited, owing to its unhealthy climate.

Amatongaland, to the north, is about half the size of Zululand. It is a low-lying coastal plain, rising not more than 500 feet above sea-level, and is not only unhealthy, but as far as yet explored, valueless.

The last of the political divisions for consideration, is the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, which adjoins the Transvaal on the northeast. It is an immense territory, having an area of nearly 200,000 square miles, of which the northwestern portion is an uninhabitable waste called the Kalahari Desert.

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In the eastern portions of the country cattle thrive, and in some parts, the soil being generally fertile, agriculture, though on a limited scale, is successfully carried on.

This brief survey will, it is hoped, enable our readers to form some conception of the present status of those industries and resources upon the successful development of which is predicated the future of South Africa. It will be seen that its immediate future, or its future within a measurable distance, is, as we have said, primarily dependent upon the development of the mineral resources of the country, and it has been shown that the established capabilities of the country in respect of its gold, diamonds, and coal deposits, at least, justify one in entertaining most sanguine expectations.

There is, moreover, no doubt that the country possesses the inherent capacity of political as well as commercial aggrandizement. In the review of its physical geography I have also indicated the limitations of the country; have shown that included within its boundaries are immense tracts of territory unsuitable to the habitation of Europeans, and, as a corollary, that the country will never be densely inhabited compared with Europe and the United States of America. This, of course, refers to its white population. I am of the opinion, also, that South Africa is not capable of an indefinite nor of a comprehensive expansion in the direction of manufacturing industries, being handicapped in this respect by the competition of countries possessing superior economic conditions. There are two other factors to be considered in forming an estimate of South Africa's future. I allude to the political and to the native labor problems. Notwithstanding the great number of unemployed natives in South Africa, there is a constant scarcity of labor, which at times makes itself most seriously felt, not only in the mining districts, but in all other portions of the country as well, where manual labor is required. This scarcity of labor exists in spite of, or I should say, to use a paradox, because of, the high wages paid, the rate of native wages in the mining districts being entirely disproportionate to the needs of the native; for, with the wages thus earned, after working only two or three years, the Kafir is enabled to purchase wives upon the fruit of whose labor he thenceforth lives in most congenial idleness.

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Attempts have been made to educate and also to Christianize the Kafir, but generally speaking with lamentable failure. While the Kafir tribes are at times recalcitrant, the individual Kafirs, when outside the pale of tribal influence, are perfectly tractable. As has been stated, they overwhelmingly outnumber the white population, and it is highly probable that the safety of the whites may sooner or later necessitate the disruption of the native tribal organization. It must be confessed that there always exists a danger of future general uprising of the natives of South Africa, but it is a fortunate circumstance that the Kafirs are not capable of extended organized movement, nor of concerted action. The solution of the native problem demands the co-operation of all the South African States. It is believed that its best solution is by such legislation as will impose (by means of taxation, etc.) upon the native the necessity of working. Against such a policy, no doubt, the sentimentalists will protest; but when once South Africa is thoroughly united upon this policy, it will assert and maintain its indefeasible right to enact laws relating to a subject upon which, if not their very existence, at least their material welfare, depends. It cannot be denied that the *régime* of the white man has greatly ameliorated the condition of the Kafir, who, before his advent, was the victim of internecine wars, and of the operation of a despotic form of native government, possible only among barbaric people. The only alternative supply of labor would be the importation of indentured East Indians, which has been done, though not altogether successfully, in Natal. As far as the Transvaal is concerned, the laws of that country make this scheme impossible, and it is, moreover, by no means a desirable alternative.

A far more momentous problem is that relating to the politics of South Africa. I shall not, however, trench upon the domain of politics, being indeed under an obligation not to interfere with political matters affecting the South African Republic, further than to express the hope and the belief that a satisfac tory solution of the racial problem, especially regarding the relations between the English and the Dutch, can be compassed by methods of statecraft.

While fully recognizing the fact that there are, unfortunately, discordant elements tending to widen the breach between the English and the Dutch, I know at the same time that there are

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also most potent influences contributing to reconcile the racial differences, and to bring about that co-operation of all nationalities that is not only essential for the general prosperity of South Africa, but upon which depend the very existence of the individual States and their peoples.

The policy of isolation is incompatible with the general prosperity of the country, and, while there are inevitably diverging, and, indeed, clashing interests, the resultant of the various forces will be in the right direction. This view is based, not upon the expectation that altruistic principles will prevail, but rather upon the belief that those sentimental considerations, at present militating against South African progress, will be subordinated to the dictates of material welfare; that the interdependence of the several States will become universally recognised; that the present commercial barriers will be gradually removed; that customs unions will be formed, and, ultimately, while not wholly ceding their autonomy, the political confederation of the South African States will be established, thereby obliterating the boundaries which tend "to make enemies of nations, who had else as kindred drops mingled into one."

JOHN HAYS HAMMOND.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

DOGS IN TOWN.

It is somewhat of an Irishism to say that fondness for dogs is a humane instinct. Nevertheless, there is a thread of nobleness in the character of that man, no matter how otherwise uncouth and degraded he may be, who has a genuine sentiment of regard for a dog. The dog is a true friend of man, and if individual specimens are vicious in temper, it is usually because they have been made so by surroundings and treatment. It is, therefore, with no antipathy for the dog, but with ready acknowledgment of his worth and usefulness that I would suggest that he is a nuisance as a denizen of the city.

Cities exist for the convenience and benefit of man, but they have grown in a haphazard way, retaining many rural features long after these have ceased to have any rational excuse for remaining. There are many persons still living who can remember when swine roamed about the streets of New York, and were the unkempt predecessors of Waring's "white angels." Dickens gives this picture of Broadway a half-century ago, and the same conditions existed less than four decades ago, to my own knowledge:

"Once more in Broadway! Two portly sows are trotting behind a carriage, and a select party of gentlemen hogs have just turned the corner. They are the city scavengers. They are never attended upon, or fed, or driven, or caught, but are thrown upon their own resources early in life, and become preternaturally knowing in consequence. Every pig knows where he lives better than any one could tell him. At this hour, just as evening is closing in, you will see them roaming towards bed by scores, eating their way to the last, perfect self-possession and self-reliance and immovable composure being their foremost attributes."

The hog has gone, but the dog lags superfluous, and even in his best estate is a care and a menace; often the unsuspected carrier of disease, as well as an evident source of filth. The streets would be much easier to keep clean if dogs could be excluded from them, as they are already from the parks. The cost, private and public, of cleaning up canine filth is unmistakably onerous, and it is, in fact, a chief source of street untidyness. Any one who has lived in a corner house can sympathize with that statement.

In addition to this, the dog in apartment-houses and wherever human habitation is dense is a cause of discomfort as well as of serious deterioration in the health of human dwellers therein. In one instance, a baby was rendered really ill by the dog in the house opposite, who at brief intervals through the day and late into the night would spring up to the open window of his apartment and express his canine enthusiasm in unmelodious

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accents. The babe, hushed to sleep, would be rudely awakened perhaps five minutes after, and this over and over again until, fortunately, cold weather has closed windows and brought surcease of this particular cause of complaint. And this is but one instance of innumerable wrongs of various sorts inflicted on a multitude of innocent sufferers. The dog himself is also a frequent sufferer from being kennelled in a place which may do for human habitation, but is certainly no place for a dog.

This is a subject which might well come under the purview of our Board of Health with the purpose of controlling to some extent the annoyance. As we grow in genuine urban life we will minimize all street noises and everything which tends to make life irksome. The car-horse has had his day and has almost disappeared. The old clothes man with his jarring outcry, the scissors-grinder with his tangle of bells, and the dog with his tendency to leave a reminder of himself on every doorstep, should follow him into oblivion, and remain only as memories in urban life.

GEORGE WILLIAM WINTERBURN.

THE MENACE OF PSEUDO-PATRIOTISM.

THERE are many reasons why the present seems a fit time for a revival of genuine patriotism; that is, of such a sentiment of devoted affection for Fatherland as shall be rational instead of merely passionate, generous instead of jealous, calm and confident instead of shrill and petulant; a sentiment characterized by a willingness to learn from the experience of others, rather than by a truculent self-assertion and self-complacency; in short, a devotion to the public welfare that shall be as quick to discern the danger within as the danger without, and as ready to expose and combat it despite the immemorial custom of crowning soldiers and stoning prophets. This we understand to be patriotism as opposed to mere provincialism, or that insane prejudice against the outsider which once made the words for stranger and enemy synonymous; as opposed, too, to those merely formal protestations of devotion, hysterical though they be, whereby patriots for revenue only seek to blind the people's eyes to their designs.

These pseudo-patriots may be subdivided indefinitely; but two classes of them deserve at least a passing notice. One, whom we may designate as patriots for political effect, belong to a parasitic race probably as old as government itself. But they were so much in evidence during the middle of last century that Dr. Johnson thought it worth while to immortalize them in the Dictionary. In the fourth edition he therefore inserted as a second definition of the word *patriot*, "It is sometimes used for a factious disturber of the goverment." This smacks of the Tory, to be sure, but a goodly measure of truth was mingled with its prejudice, and Sir Robert Walpole brought sound Whig testimony to bear it out when he said, "A patriot, Sir! Why patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four and twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable and insolent demand and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts." Macaulay, too, has his fling at them, when he says of the elder Pitt, then fighting for office: "He was not invited to become a placeman; and he, therefore, stuck firmer to his old trade as patriot."

It was this type of pseudo-patriotism which Browning called "the

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easiest virtue for a selfish man to acquire," and Johnson denounced as "the last refuge of a scoundrel." It would be scarcely worth our while to honor it with serious criticism were it not that it is so marvellously noisy, and that the mass of mankind have so high a reverence for the genuine sentiment as to be easily imposed upon by anything that masquerades under its name. In ordinary circumstances no great harm is done, because there is time for the common sense of the people to reduce the agitator's polysyllables to their lowest terms and to discover the disproportion between sound and sense. But in an international crisis, when great issues hang in the balance and popular excitement runs high, it is scarcely too much to say that a democracy contains no more dangerous element than that which would stimulate so-called patriotic passion to gain a vote or sell a newspaper.

This is the pseudo-patriotism of the demagogue. But, as has just been suggested, it would be ineffective enough if it did not find so favorable a soil for the sowing of its dragon's teeth in the unreflecting prejudice of great masses of the people. It may seem to be a hard saying, but it is none the less a true one, that very much which is accounted patriotism is nothing else than a provincialism compact of ignorance and prejudice. This was the passion to which Palmerston loved to appeal, and upon which he built not a little of his prestige as a foreign minister. But we have no need to go so far afield for illustration. Just as our relations with Spain reached their acutest stage last year, a Spanish mob wrecked an American consulate and tore an American flag in pieces; whereupon an American mob—a small and non-representative mob, be it said—not to be outdone in devotion, trailed a Spanish flag through the streets of a New Jersey town and burned the King of Spain in effigy. Now the really significant thing about these outbreaks was, not that they should have occurred, since such popular *émeutes* are always liable to occur, but that respectable newspapers should have reported them as demonstrations of overpowering patriotic sentiment on the part of the Spanish and American participants. Yet the most casual consideration of the substance of these events as distinguished from their form is sufficient to show that they were essentially treasonable rather than patriotic, since nothing could have been better calculated to embarrass the two governments than such an appeal to passion on the part of their irresponsible subjects. But the episode serves admirably to illustrate the dim and unethical sense which the public attaches to a great word.

It is only as we ponder upon our political history that we see how this low and unworthy idea of patriotism tends to hamper and belittle us. It implies that patriotism is a virtue rather apart from other virtues, and to a considerable extent independent of them, thus ignoring altogether the fact of the solidarity of character. It is disposed to sneer at the suggestion that we may learn anything from the experience of other nations, and it is ever boasting of its silly contempt of all precedent. "Politics," the late Sir John Seeley used to say, "are vulgar when they are not liberalized by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics." "This may answer well enough for the effete despotisms of the old world," exclaim our professional patriots, "but it will never do for the 'Young Giant of the West.' You must not expect the 'Genius of the Republic' to tie herself down to the prosaic lessons of history." It is, indeed, a favorite contention with them that we are now big enough and rich enough to ignore, not merely the long and varied experi-

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ence, but, to a considerable extent, the very existence of the remainder of the world, and to accept, at least as regards our political and and financial life, the *rôle* of Hermit Nation, which Corea has found herself forced to discard. We cannot help reminding these self-sufficient statesmen, in Lowell's words, that—

> "Thet kind o' thing worked wal in ole Judee,
> But you forgit how long it's been A. D."

It is by no means easy to over-emphasize the difficulty which such false views of that wherein true patriotism consists put in the way of the free and candid discussion of some questions of the most vital public import. It is deemed "unpatriotic," for instance, by a considerable class of respectable citizens, to make any searching inquisition into the workings of our vast pension system, and he who exposes fraud there is in danger of denunciation as 'no friend of the soldier.' Whereas, in point of fact, if he be honest and disinterested in his endeavor, he is the best possible friend of the soldier, inasmuch as the people will cheerfully incur great burdens for the relief of needy and worthy veterans, but are bound to become restive if they have cause to suspect that the system covers fraud. There is, too, in some quarters, a disposition to treat the present agitation for international arbitration as unpatriotic, since it might seem to imply that we would rather arbitrate than fight, an eagerness to fight, of course, being reckoned a constituent element of all patriotism of this particular stripe. It seems but the other day, indeed, since we were told how sordid and commercial the peace spirit seemed beside the effervescent chauvinism that yearned to plunder, burn, and kill, to sweep commerce from the seas, and to bring other nations "to their senses."

The office of the critic is at all times a somewhat ungracious one. It is likely to prove dangerous, too, inasmuch as hypertrophy of the critical generally means atrophy of the constructive faculty. But in a time of political upheaval and social unrest a peculiar obligation rests upon us to reduce phrases to their lowest terms. Some of them will prove, like the First Gentleman of Europe under Thackeray's awful analysis, mere lay figures whereon to hang innumerable embroidered waistcoats, and nothing more. Others, under the same process, will evidence a truer worth than ever. This, we believe, will be the lot of our American love of country. No nation, surely, ever had greater cause for pride in past achievement, present opportunity, or future promise. In none has devotion to the public weal been deeper, more intelligent, or more self-forgetful in periods of national storm and stress. Patriotism has been in a sense popularized. Let us see to it, that, to adopt Coleridge's famous distinction, it be not plebified. As we contemplate our unique situation, our unexampled progress, and our immeasurable resources, we are forced to the conclusion that if any danger ever seriously threaten us, it must come from within rather than without. This means that genuine American patriotism, in accordance with Bolingbroke's dictum, "must be founded in great principles and supported by great virtues." It implies further that the principal field for its display is likely to continue to be domestic rather than international; and that nothing can more surely militate against the fulfilment of our national mission than our adoption of that ideal of military imperialism which is leading the nations of Europe into a labyrinth of increasing complexity and difficulty.

EDWARD MORTIMER CHAPMAN.

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CURES LITTLE THOUGHT OF.

IT is a well-known pleasantry that the Chinese pay their doctors when well and stop payments when ill. Naturally, the doctor would do his best, for this reverses the condition wherein the ill-health of the community is the prosperity of the profession.

Not to emulate China, the alleged usage will serve as a text. For in the United States, according to a recent writer with taste for statistics, half a million people die prematurely every year from causes which might have been postponed or removed by obedience to the laws of health and life. Even if this be a tenfold exaggeration there is still margin for a fervid picture of what might be done to save the unused decades of this army of untimely dead.

A man's most useful years to his family and to the community are those in which he has at command life's harvest of wisdom, experience and temporal possession. And to save these special decades is more than simply swelling the population. It is augmenting the nation's richest product.

So many accidental causes and diseases are known to strike at the lives of those who make up the community that we are apt to regard long life as a matter of chance, which will be better the less one "interferes with nature." Consequently, even among those with enough prevision to insure life there are few who take skilled counsel to prolong it. Every one seeks return of health when the human machine is out of order, but not many put it under supervision as long as all seems to be running well.

With machinery made by man the rule is different, perhaps because it is better known. Realizing that barnacles are inevitable, the yachtsman hauls up his boat periodically for scraping. Knowing that rust comes and dust gathers and pins and bearings wear, and piston heads blow out, and iron girders snap, men skilled in the mechanism are sent over it regularly to see where the strain is and apply relief before breakdown occurs. But the owner of the human machine prefers not to "interfere with nature," and only gets overhauling when more or less complete breakdown occurs.

For this reason, an illness in early rational life is often a great blessing, in that it brings the machine under inspection, and this adds more to the individual's life than the illness subtracts.

Considering nature's marvellous care of her children, the popular reverence for her is not strange. Yet contrast the bitterness of the wild fruit with the sweetness of the cultivated; the hedge-corner wild rose with the American Beauty; the knotty prairie horse with the lithe-limbed thoroughbred. Contrast the adult mouth in which dentistry has not interfered with nature—the mouth of tooth cavities, snags, and abscesses—with that full of sound white teeth saved from decay. If it were as patent that blood-vessel rust is as inevitable as tooth decay—and almost as remediable when taken in time—who among the rational would not avoid it?

The human race has an average length of life. Just why this arbitrary limit is not reached by the race twenty years sooner, or twenty years later, is not apparent from the organism. From David and Aristotle down, the question has puzzled the philosophers.

Civilization, or "the advance in arts and learning"—that is, science—has already raised greatly the race-average of life. To appreciate this, one has only to contrast man in savage and civilized states, or animals running wild with the same species domesticated. Fuegians, Esquimaux, Austra-

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lians, rarely reach forty-five years of age. Lions in captivity, being fed, live long after the loss of teeth and claws, their only means of subsistence in a state of nature. Insurance experts class English risks as better than those of the Irish in Ireland, where food conditions are not as good. Dilke, studying the longevity of the Eastern United States, shows that the climate, the intensity of American life, the proportion of emigrants of lower organization, and the slow replacement of the Anglo-Saxon element by the German stock of shorter race-average, have all tended to make the average longevity of the American below the English figure.

So the Englishman, German, American, Irishman, Fuegian, face respectively a different life-expectation. As with races, so with individuals. Influences, very definite and definable, are at work either lengthening or shortening life. And these influences can be mastered to some extent.

Though science can not discover why the race at a certain average should show a physical waste exceeding repair, it can tell clearly why a particular individual begins to die earlier than the race average; or why in another individual repair keeps pace with waste beyond the race-average. One has not come under the same influences which have played upon the other. And the relation of these influences to the individual is the province of the scientist.

Only a few men in centuries—men like Harvey, Jenner, Lister, Pasteur—are able to raise perceptibly the race-average; but every broadly educated physician might add to individual longevity, if he understood his most important function and impressed it upon the community.

Civilization felt instantly the results of the work of Pasteur, Lister, Koch. In the one single field of the maternity hospital their discoveries reduced the mothers' death rate from thirty-three per cent. to less than one-fifth of one per cent. They have extended the life-saving power of surgery, and daily narrow the field of contagion.

But the individual, though reaping the general benefit with the rest of the community, has not yet learned to gather all that he might receive personally from science.

Leaving aside those of impoverished vitality at birth, and coming to the average adult of the community, consider for example the scourge of pulmonary consumption, which is said to cause one-fourth of the adult deaths in England. The preparation of the human soil for this devastation can be foretold long before the bacillus is planted, and often in time to prevent its taking root. Public sanitary supervision is reducing the spread of consumption, but individuals are not yet taking all the measures at their disposal to keep themselves from becoming good soil for the germ.

Take the question of muscle. There may be too much or too little. Both will shorten life, and neither will call for medical aid until the damage is done and is almost beyond repair. The athlete builds up splendid muscles; they require an unusual amount of blood; they offer unusual resistance to the passage of the blood, and consequently the heart must grow larger and work harder. Perhaps, to insure his life, his heart is casually examined, and the doctor finds no over-developed muscle stretched out of its utility, and no valves blown out. Yet, suddenly, when swimming, the sturdy fellow goes to the bottom, and people wonder why it is always the good swimmers who are taken with cramp. But it was not a cramp, popularly speaking; the heart stopped because it could not drive blood through at a critical moment.

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Or, there will be a slower degeneration of the heart muscle, if heavy demand upon it continue after it has reached its limit of overgrowth; and then some day it will stretch like a wornout gaiter top, and the broken-down man is told by the doctor what he now knows too well himself. And very little can be done for the trouble that need not have occurred.

Too little development, on the other hand, may give no warning of serious trouble. One may even be fat. But finally the fat creeps in between the muscular fibres, which in the heart, arteries, and veins propel the circulation. A feeble blood current results. Or, when there is no fat, atrophied and faded muscular fibres leave the blood current in the same sluggish condition. Such a patient may get an occasional prescription for a torpid liver, or a little iron for his blood, and may not see his physician again for years. Yet all the time there is going on the slow process of congested liver, kidneys, and enfeebled heart, and later a slight retention of the waste products of life. These, circulating in the blood, irritate the delicate blood vessels like pepper in the eye; and now, regardless of years, old age has commenced; the man has begun to die. The blood vessels, from the largest to the smallest, begin to deposit the results of this inflammation within their calibre. This may come at thirty, at forty, at fifty, or it may be postponed to seventy: and just where the breakdown will occur will depend upon the weakest point. It may be heart or lungs or liver or kidney, and the disease goes by one of these names; but its real name should be *rust from neglect of the machine.*

In the matter of heredity, though science can fan the feeble spark of vitality into a semblance of life, the weaklings have little chance in the struggle. But we can gather wasted decades at the end of the next generation by care of the present. And while "every higher degree of individual evolution is followed by a lower degree of race-multiplication," it is certain that science can get a greater number to a self-sustaining age by regulating the fertility of the shiftless than now reach that age under the present blind trust in nature. The gardener, by cutting off the buds of plants (that is, by preventing too great reproduction) increases their bulk and longevity and the character of the fruit. In man over-reproduction often causes the loss of all the offspring before even one has reached a self-sustaining age.

There is also a life prolonging element in the psychic field. It is now well known that increased complexity of life with increased expenditure distinctly aids longevity. Luxury, "the fertile parent of a whole family of diseases," modifies it greatly, of course; but this is a manageable factor.

We have only to recall personal experience to realize the force of intellectual stimulation. The interest of sport will sustain men without fatigue for distances they otherwise could never traverse. The excitement of strife will often mask the presence of wounds. Self-forgetfulness in all the walks of life, under the stress of love, chivalry, or accepted duty, doubles human endurance and brings results that surprise the poor doer himself when back in monotony. Self consciousness distracts one from worthy purpose to unworthy self, and with its blushes and confusion robs of even routine abilities. Success gives new vitality, new powers, and this is another name for new life. Misfortune imposes blight, self-consciousness, inactivity, and what is this but lessened life? The history of war, shipwreck, tempest, shows a larger percentage of the survivors from the men of brain, who outlast the men of muscle—the men with no power of self-detachment, with no purpose, no philosophy. Biography presents its list of "grand old men" to

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prove that intellectual activities rescue from the fatal narrowing of sympathies which comes on with age. The retired ranks of business tell how soon men drop who cease endeavor and devote energies to self-nursing Literature sometimes hits the scientific mark. Says Amiel: "Happiness gives the energy which is the basis of health. To make any one happy, then, is strictly to augment his being." And, finally, religion yields new view, new health, new life, in the convert's first rush of enthusiasm. This psychic phenomenon forms the sole truth-capital of the faith-healers.

There is proven, therefore, the existence of a psychic source of vital power in the organism; also, that there are definite forces which can be made to act upon this well-spring of life.

Who shall enter this "transcendental laboratory of nature," and smite the life-giving rock if not the man of science who knows humanity to the core? Even the pill-limited doctor, with worried look and disbelief in spiritual essence, can help one out of a perspective as narrow as his own—out of the death-yielding weariness of monotony—by ordering a change of climate.

It is a law of mental impressions that they wear themselves out and become altered by continuance. The popular melody grows odious in time. Bury it long enough, and it is heard again with pleasure almost pristine. And this explains the wonders wrought by change of scene and climate. The old ruts through which wearied nerve force runs without change are temporarily abandoned for new-made grooves which give vivid impressions, like vigorous electric sparks. The old ruts, meanwhile, freshen up like furrows on the finger when rings are laid aside; and returning to duty is like resurrecting the pristine melody.

A wearied woman in kitchen toil struck two pots together, and her eye brightened at the peculiar note. It recalled a long-forgotten railway trip. "Testing car wheels with a hammer sounds like that," she said; and the memory of excursion freedom drove her heart faster and sent more blood through the capillaries of her eye.

Sunken in monotony, the very exhaustion itself resists the idea of change. Devotion to the routine becomes more and more morbid as the necessity to break away from it is greater. The change need not always be abandonment of business. The time, place, and character of meals can be altered. The time of rest can be lengthened, shortened, changed. Mental occupation of leisure moments, the amusements—even the devotions—can be directed. The ferryboat cure has given results shaming the Kneipp cure, the water cure, the faith cure. The three-cent daily ferry trip taken as a sacred duty, under advice, gives more than oxygen to the pent-up housewife. The imagination takes hold upon the bustling travellers and shipping seen, and follows them into larger freedom and more genial climes. The meeting-house, the revival, the confessional, are each in their place powerful "cures"; they enable shut-up souls to "lay hold upon the ideal by the link of religious aspiration." Feeble of resource, indeed, must be the doctor who does not sometimes prescribe an anthem.

Judicious variation of monotony conserves energy and postpones age.

Is there not, then, reason to conclude that lightning rods and life-boats and air-tight compartments and fire-escapes as life-savers are not to be compared with that wisdom which can garner such a harvest of rich decades for the nation?

EUGENE COLEMAN SAVIDGE.

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